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CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN THE HISTADRUT

by
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PREFACE

The booklet presented to the reader is based on a Hebrew work and has been abridged, edited, and rendered into English by Mr. Yirmiyahu Haggai of the Histadrut's International Department.

I gladly take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mr. Haggai for the effort and ability invested in the English version.

BEZALEL SHACHAR

INTRODUCTION

Underlying the Histadrut's cultural activities there is a specific outlook based on faith: faith in the ordinary citizen of our country, whatever his origin, whether he has been long among us or has only just arrived as a newcomer to our shores. We believe it possible to educate the adult human being, to bring out and strengthen the finest elements of his nature, to help him rise in stature and undertaking, to equip him to contribute his gifts and capacities to the life of the community. This faith is supported by the experience of many countries the world over as to the possibilities of adult education. It is strengthened immeasurably by our own experience here in Israel with what a determined group of people can achieve. We have seen the effort of a people to transform itself, to rechannelize its history and build a new society.

In saying this, we do not ignore the serious rifts and cleavages in our society. Mass immigration and a rapid pace of social change have accompanied the country's development. Israel's population today, totalling some two and one-half millions, includes the most diverse elements. In every step of our cultural work, we are acutely aware of the multiplicity of languages and traditions, the great variety of social concepts, and the different levels of education which open broader opportunities of employment to some groups and limit others permanently to unskilled labor. However, these grave problems must not shake our confidence in the possibility of a united national society based on social justice. What they do demand is a greater effort in thought and action. Bridging these gaps is the central task of our educational programs in the Histadrut.

These programs are guided and informed by the specific values and ideals of our labor movement, which in substance have remained the same throughout nearly half a century. They include the ideas of Zionism and socialism; agricultural pioneering; simplicity in personal life; respect for every kind of work; equality of the sexes, and more generally — a readiness to treat *all* human beings as equals. They include an appreciation of liberty and democracy, a strong emphasis on mutual aid and mutual responsibility. And they maintain a positive relationship to Israel in its various aspects, including a knowledge of its past and a love of its colorful landscapes, its fauna and flora. At its best, this system of values is embodied in the *Halutz*, the pioneer who sets out to make his home in the wilderness and to reclaim it for cultivation and for civilization. Ready to volunteer for all tasks of national responsibility and of special difficulty, the Halutz is conceived as the creator both of a new society and of a new culture — a worker who is also a man of education and taste.

This system of values provides a sufficiently broad framework and serves as a kind of touchstone or compass for all our cultural activities. But while it may be true that the basic principles remain unchanged, the practical application constantly varies as changing circumstances pose new needs and a fresh challenge. We may all agree that "work" is a cardinal principle of our movement; but the interpretation of this in relation to the needs of the economy, and the capacities and training of the individual, is an immediate and difficult problem. Thus, the content of our educational programs needs constant reexamination and revision. It is meant to serve people with a Western cultural background, but also Yemenites, or communities of Moroccan, Cochin, or Iraqi origin. The ambiance of its service is in the big cities, and in their poorer suburbs as well; in development towns in the Negev, but likewise in cooperative smallholders' cooperative villages (Moshavim), or in the Kibbutzim. Numbers are of less significance here than the specific details of the work done and for whom it is done.

Principles and Objectives

What is of utmost importance to the Histadrut is that it develop its cultural, informational, and educational activity in breadth and in depth alike, in all desirable and possible directions, and on an ever growing scale.

Without a doubt, this statement requires detailed systematic explanation.

The expression "utmost importance" relates to a chain of preeminent factors requiring us to elevate this activity to a position on the scale of priorities with which the Histadrut invests — or should invest — its ideologically and policy-motivated actions. It is becoming increasingly clearer that the Histadrut, if it is to maintain its position as the largest, most stable labor organization in the country, must devote itself to elucidating its concerns, its values, and its tasks for the entire body of its membership.

A labor organization composed of a million members must, if it would survive, unceasingly explain to its people the significance of their membership within it, not only its formal significance, but its most essential aspects. In every one of those countries in which the workers can boast of achievements in the vocational field, their affiliation with the trade union has become a problem demanding not only organizational treatment and solution but to an increasing extent systematic guidance and instruction along cultural, informative lines. Belonging to a union is not a self-evident matter from a spiritual, cultural point of view. This applies even more strongly when dealing with a comprehensive labor organization transcending the structural pattern of a trade union as such.

An organization like the *Histadrut,* with its unique and unparallelled structure, necessitating as it does authority beyond the limited scope of a trade union local, is certainly in need of a continuous information service for presenting to its members the *value* and the *benefit* deriving from their membership in this comprehensive organization. To be sure, there is room for a deeply penetrating discussion as to how, in general, *value* and *benefit* dovetail. Certainly, in this case, such integration cannot come about automatically, as though taken for granted, in the heart and mind of each member. On the contrary, there are times when it might seem to him — and he could be right — that the anticipated immediate benefit from casting off the burden of Histadrut authority outweighs the benefit derived from accepting the value burden of membership within a general organization; and if this does happen it signifies his inability to discern the benefit inherent in the value itself. Clearly, if the benefit gained from casting off the burden were to be balanced merely by the value in sustaining it, the situation would be very grave indeed. Most fortunately, to anybody who studies the subject judiciously, it is obvious that belonging to the Histadrut as a general organization, while based on a long-term benefit, still does carry short-range ones as well. Both the normative and the advantage elements are components in any exposition of the importance of Histadrut membership. As stated, however, these elements do not constitute mere data for overcoming craft interests, insular aims, the drive to exploit conjunctural phases of prosperity or even, at times, of depression, and sundry other personal and group motivations. It follows that the Histadrut is now being confronted, in simplest terms but with growing urgency, by the problem of explaining its very existence and activity — as the comprehensive organization of the workers of Israel — and of endowing the general body of its membership with cognizance of its importance in values and benefits. We say, *the general body of its membership,* because this is a problem that cannot be confined to any one sector of the Histadrut population. Newcomers, old-timers, young people and adults, men and women — all share the need — though not infrequently in varying degrees and at different levels — of having the Histadrut expounded to them.

The Histadrut, then, as we have stressed, is more than a trade union organization. The scope of its activity extends over the broadest areas, and the objectives it sets for itself are not restricted to the problems of protecing the trade union interests of its members. The multi-faceted Labor Economy, the mutual aid enterprises — these, no less, are pillar stones of the Histadrut. One might indeed say that this triangular column — the trade-unions, the Labor Economy, and mutual aid — is not an arbitrary compounding of three distinct elements. Ideologically and practically they are of one substance, upon each part of which the existence and functioning of the other two is conditional. In somewhat paradoxical fashion, one may say that for the Histadrut to be a trade union federation worthy of the name, any one of the three pillar stones alone does not suffice: it must rest on the other two as well. For the Histadrut properly to carry the load of its economic enterprises, it needs the trade unions and the mutual aid undertakings; and in order that its mutual aid scheme should be meaningful, the latter must be linked to the Histadrut's activities in the two other areas. So, then, the cultural, educational, and expository activities of the Histadrut, in breadth and in depth, may be justified in their having to serve it as a *fourth* pillar stone. This is so not only because of the need for systematic and continuous explanation why the Histadrut's structure is such, with its objectives and activity patterns — in other words, not only because such activity needs to provide the theoretical premises for the Histadrut's activities in the other fields, but because this activity is likewise anchored in highly important autonomous requirements. One's spiritual and cultural life are a constant criterion for the individual's or a society's existence in general, and they are a determining factor in the latter's smooth and favorable functioning. Spiritual and cultural life, however, represent a need, a demand and objective on their own. In other words, the ideological and practical premising of the Histadrut's activity in the sphere of culture, education and information is not only a matter of the service thus rendered to the central aims of the Histadrut in the trade union, economic, and mutual aid fields. It is based no less on that activity's inherent value and usefulness as an end in itself.

For, if the Histadrut is interested — and it should be — in continuing to be a home to all its members, its duty is to concern itself not only with their vocational and economic needs but with their spiritual needs as well. Happily for us, the Histadrut today is not a lone agent in this domain. With the rise of the State of Israel, an additional, powerful force entered upon the scene, one capable of contributing toward this end, just as it has contributed toward an adequate provision of the other needs of Israel's inhabitants, including those who belong to the Histadrut and constitute the majority of the counry's citizens. The main point is that the Histadrut must not divest itself of this function. It is in duty bound to assist its members to continue advancing at all times in their general, Jewish, and labor education. It must ensure their striking deep roots in the country as loyal citizens devoted to its peaceful development. It must enable them to enjoy their spiritual lives at a high level and receive full cultural gratification, while becoming integrated in the process with a working and learning society, which progresses uninterruptedly towards the central goals of the State of Israel; while the latter, consummating and enforcing social justice, democratic liberties, meaningful equality, thereby becomes a model for the Jewish people and all peoples to emulate. Fundamentally, the Histadrut also represents a definite outlook. This, it is true, is quite a broad one. Within it many hues and shades of opinion dwell and confront one another in freedom and equality. Nevertheless it is a point of view, and not merely a pragmatic association for hand-to-mouth affairs, lacking vision. Without vision, the Histadrut is doomed. And it is *this* vision of the Histadrut which *obligates* it to conduct spirited cultural and educational activity in close concert with the ideals of man's ennoblement in a free society of workers.

From the foregoing, it follows that the Histadrut's cultural and educational activity should not limit itself to what is technically defined as "information." What it should do is to afford the members of the Histadrut the opportunity to satisfy their spiritual and cultural requirements over as broad a range as possible. The limits of this range cannot and should not be defined in advance. The decision on that score needs to be made in accordance with concrete goals, needs, and possibilities. This applies mainly to the Histadrut's activities amongst its adult members. In our times, there is a certain division of functions in democratic countries between the state and social organizations. The guiding principle is that the state assumes the burden of educating children and adolescents leaving the cultural-educational field of activity among adults open to individual and organized social initiative, though extending them its assistance. In Israel, which is undergoing an accelerated process of growth and development, the situation is one that has required the state to develop intensified cultural activity among its citizens, if but to endow them with elementary education and civics.

This situation, however does not by any means exempt the Histadrut from the duty of delineating its own fields of activity — coordinating them on a basis of maximum cooperation with the central government and the local authorities. There are two criteria that must guide it in doing this: 1) the degree to which such cultural activity is able to satisfy optimum needs at the appropriate level; 2) the degree to which such activity increases the affinity of Histadrut members for the Histadrut and educates them towards its values and tasks. The term for this is *educative cultural activity*, subdivided into educative information, educative learning, educative art, clubrooms, libraries, cultural centers, and similar institutions with an educative aim.

Earlier in this introduction, we remarked that it is of extreme importance for the Histadrut to conduct its manifold "cultural, informational, and educational activity in breadth and in depth alike." This represents an attempt — possibly oversimplified — to reconcile two matters that usually seem contradictory. If the activity is to be in breadth, how can it be deepened? And if in depth, how can it embrace large masses? One cannot ignore the difficulties posed by this contradiction. From the very earliest days of cultural activity among adults in this country and abroad, this contradiction has been one of the theoretical and practical subjects raised at every discussion. In some countries, the decisions have fallen now one way, now the other.

It would appear that in Israel the Histadrut has no way out of this dilemma save that of seizing the bull by both horns. For obviously, cultural activity that fails to reach the mass of the membership declines in its over-all importance for achieving objectives. On the other hand, it is imperative that certain sectors be reached — the term sector serving here to designate various groups as well as select individuals within the different strata of the Histadrut population — through deeper, more penetrating activity. Hence, there is need for a policy allocating its means and efforts differentially, deployed on the one hand to deal with large numbers of people through instruments capable of influencing them, and endeavoring, on the other hand, to get through to those sectors through activities we may define as the training of cadres in diverse ways, at courses, schools, and similar institutional frameworks.

The concept of activity in breadth also has an ecological implication. It involves the recognition that the Histadrut's cultural activity cannot be limited exclusively to certain areas of the country. This problem is very pertinent when one has to deal with Israel's development areas, frontier settlements, immigrant towns, and quarters. On more occasions than one, it has been suggested that the Histadrut forego its cultural presence in the older rural communities, in the more soundly established areas, and devote itself exclusively to the more problematic localities. However, it would seem that the Histadrut dare not accept any such proposal, since in the established communities, no less than in the development areas, the questions of meaningful affiliation with the Histadrut and education to that end are of great significance. There is moreover the cogent fact that dues-paying Histadrut members demand fulfillment of their cultural requirements through the Histadrut and its resources even if they do reside in the more established areas. Here too, then, the response has to be on a differential basis, governed by the principle of mutual aid: maximum attention has to be devoted to the areas in need of development, with resources dedicated to their needs over and above what is their "due" in terms of paid up membership; yet at the same time the established areas must not be neglected, with activity there more along the lines of organization, direction, and counselling at a relatively small outlay of expenditures

Nor should the following be forgotten: the concept of *development areas* is not a solely geographical one. It is also a social concept, since not a few of these areas are situated in the very heart of metropolitan centers, prosperous villages, soundly established localities. Furthermore, the concept of a *spiritual wilderness* is not identical with that of *geographical* wilderness. In many respects, the former invades us all and presents each and every one of us with a challenge. This spiritual wilderness is quite powerful — to our sorrow, at times growing and expanding — in the very midst of many of the country's population centers, not excluding the Histadrut population. Today, the various parts of Israel are not sealed off from one another. On the contrary, the large population centers are increasingly becoming focal sources of emanation — and not always for the best — on the remotest localities. Indifference on the part of the Histadrut to what goes on in these centers could mean only one thing — entrusting, and at times, abandoning, these sources of emanation to other elements, quitting the difficult cultural contests now being waged in the country and renouncing all opportunity for exerting a desirable influence on the wellsprings of its cultural events. As communications media for the masses become more powerful, the more enticing the blandishments of entertainment and pleasure in our cultural pattern grow, the more urgent does it become that we strike a balance between the means devoted to straightforward activity in the development areas and the means to be invested in the struggle for shaping the prime sources of cultural and spiritual influence upon the country as a whole. This, then, accounts for the broad spectrum (very broad indeed if one takes into account the practical and geographical range involved) of the Histadrut's cultural and educational activity.

Finally, there remains yet to be considered that part of our Introduction which deals with the desirable and possible directions of the Histadrut's cultural and educational activity on an increasingly larger scale. This is meant to emphasize the primary importance of *intensifying* the Histadrut's activity in this sphere. Clearly, the changes taking place inside the Histadrut — parallel with processes taking place in the State as a whole — are not only quantitative ones. We have already dwelt on the fact that our very growth has thrust increasingly graver problems on the Histadrut in the field of culture and information. However, this growth has not only been a quantitative one. Concomitantly, qualitative transformations have been taking place to an extent that exceeds by far the well known saying that quantitative growth *in any event* becomes a qualitative problem. The truth is that qualitative changes have been constantly taking place amidst the old-timers' segment of the Histadrut's population in addition to the changes caused by successive waves of immigration. Israeli society has not been marking time in the qualitative sense. Without pausing to dwell on these changes, we must nevertheless assert that they predicate *an increasingly greater measure* of cultural, educational, and expository activity by the Histadrut. Sub-liminal trends, and hard upon their heels an ideology to suit, array themselves here against the mission and the aims of the Histadrut in all its spheres of activity and dictate counter-measures — in those selfsame spheres of culture, education, and information.

ASSUMPTIONS

Our ideological recognition of the importance and necessity for intensified cultural, educational, and expository activity rests upon a number of assumptions concerning the essential possibility of such activity. These assumptions are:

a. That it is possible to impart learning to adults and educate them.

b. That it is possible to carry out this undertaking under the conditions obtaining in Israel.

c. That the Histadrut has reasonable prospects of success in this undertaking.

I shall attempt briefly to substantiate each assumption.

1. It has been demonstrated that to a certain extent it is indeed possible to impart learning to adults and to educate them. Research in the field of adult education has not yet acquired the dimension of an actual science. Much of it is characterized by guesswork and fine hopes. Nevertheless, a number of inquiries and the summaries of experiments in many countries have shown that adults are actually capable of learning throughout their lives. It is a more difficult task to *educate* adults, that is, to shape their values, attitudes, and modes of behavior. Here, too, instructive and positive experience has been recorded.

2. It is possible to educate adults, especially under the conditions of developing countries, where, in particular, living circumstances require a departure from previous conventions, modes, and styles to new sets of conditions. This is the situation in Israel,

and for better or worse, it contains a challenge. All those who reach Israel undergo there an education to something different, to something other than the circumstances of their former existence. The question is whether this education is the fruit of imitation, of an effort to resemble others, of the ambition to rise on the social and occupational scale, *merely* to become acculturated — or whether it is also the outcome of a directed, guided, well counselled effort. Potentially, the possibility in Israel for directed and guided education is greater than in other developing countries, since not everything here has had to start anew; it contains splendid examples of achievements born of the will to elevate the individual human being and purposively to shape his society. There is a coming to grips here with problems the likes of which are not to be found in other countries. In every such encounter there is a potential of powerful educational possibilities.

3. We were cautious in formulating our statement to the effect that the Histadrut enjoys reasonable prospects of succeeding in this task. We cannot overemphasize the need for caution in this assumption. Obviously, without faith in the prospects for succeeding, no task should be undertaken, particularly when such a task involves education. Since ideology is not a science (even though, to the extent that it wishes to be rational, it must draw fully upon science), we must, even in the sphere under discussion, seize upon every summarized experience, without however allowing ourselves to become completely enslaved by it. It has been proved that the Histadrut's adult education systems — which for the most part cooperate actively with the Government and the local authorities — have on the whole been useful in raising the level of proficiency in the Hebrew language, in general and Jewish learning, in developing artistic aptitudes and art appreciation. It has been proved that adult education institutions defined as Histadrut workers' training institutions (such as the Histadrut Labour Studies College and others) have not only made a signal contribution toward raising the level of knowledge but have also exerted a profound educational influence, whether for a short or long term or even permanently. It has been proved that the work methods of the Working Women's Council (*Moétzet Ha-Poalót*) and the Working Mothers' Organization (*Irgun Imahót Ov'dot*) wield a lasting formative influence on the working woman's life. And, of course, there is room for inquiry into the extent to which a person's

increased knowledge and his *behavior* are correlated even if the original aim was exclusively to acquire more learning. Still, we cannot ignore the cracks that have begun to show in all stages in Israel's network of education and learning. Results in education and learning in Israel indicate that success has not been uniform at all levels, and it is this inequality that undoubtedly constitutes one of Israel's fundamental problems. This cleavage is present also in the cultural, informational, and educational activity of the Histadrut and represents, as it were, a standing challenge to do the utmost possible in order to endow its activity in the fields of learning and the arts with an educational character. It would be naive to assume in advance that such a challenge is always rewarding. There are times when failure stalks us too.

TWENTY MAJOR TASKS

Against this background, we can now define twenty major tasks in our cultural activities:

1) To strengthen the bond between the individual member and the Histadrut;

2) To combat illiteracy and ignorance of the Hebrew language;

3) To improve the efficiency of Histadrut personnel;

4) To attract the younger generation in the Histadrut;

5) To increase the Histadrut's influence generally in Israeli education;

6) To assist rural settlements, especially immigrant centers and frontier outputs;

7) To encourage the social and cultural progress of people from more backward communities;

8) To foster coperation between the intelligentsia and the labor movement, and to encourage their participation in its cultural life;

9) To encourage original artistic creation at the popular as well as at a higher level;

10) To broaden on a democratic basis the enjoyment of cultural amenities;

11) To conduct a struggle for shaping the cultural image of Israeli society in view of the influx of spiritually alien elements;

12) To wage the struggle socially and culturally against anti-moral and anti-social manifestations in Israel society;

13) To ensure a constant rise in the general and vocational level of learning among the industrial urban, and rural workers in view of the mechanization and automation that already have penetrated or are about to penetrate the country's economy, thereby becoming basic factors in its development;

14) To consolidate the image of work committees, raise their standard, strengthen their ties with the workers' community and train them for their tasks;

15) To devote adequate attention to the cultural and social needs of elderly members;

16) To intensify cultural Histadrut activity amongst the students in the country's institutions of higher learning;

17) To provide high level training of cadres for the Labor Economy with an eye to the processes and activities in this economy;

18) To provide a cultural content and form for the increasing amount of leisure time in the country;

19) To intensify the educational and cultural activity of the Histadrut amongst its Arab members and their families;

20) To reinforce the Histadrut's development for most effective utilization of mass communications media: popular books, the press, radio, and television.

A complex, if indefinable, network of mutual influences is in constant operation amidst the different elements of Israel's population. Events and attitudes among the older residents are reflected immediately among the newcomers. Hence, the results of neglecting the older membership cannot but be discerned at once among the immigrants. The same interaction takes place between various age-groups. All our tasks are thus intimately connected with each other; and obviously the order of priorities is most important. The Tenth (45th Anniversary) Convention of the Histadrut (Tel-Aviv, January 3-7, 1966) adopted a number of very explicit resolutions on the importance of the Histadrut's cultural and educational activities. They merit quoting:

Resolution No. XXI on "Culture and Information" states: The Tenth Convention of the Histadrut

1. FINDS that the Histadrut's cultural, educational and information activities should be intensified in such a way as to strengthen the affinity of the great body of her members for the institution, its values, objectives and tasks; to develop Histadrut awareness of the problems of the Israel State and society, especially in matters pertaining to economics, science, absorption of immigration and inter-community integration; to promote professional skill and to contribute to the enrichment of social life.

2. STRESSES the urgent necessity to channel the maximum efforts and means to cultural activity among the new immigrant sector, the younger generation and the frontier settlements.

3. CONSIDERS the cultural, educational and information projects of the Histadrut to be first-rate tools for the organizational, spiritual and social integration of its thousands of new members, for the amelioration of the standard of many strata

within the Histadrut, and for the strengthening of their affinity to the national and class values of the labor movement.

4. **CONSIDERS** the elimination of illiteracy among the population to be a task of prime urgency, and charges the Histadrut Executive to initiate an extensive campaign to this end in cooperation with the Government and the local authorities. Calls upon the public to join in a vast volunteer movement with this objective in mind. The Tenth Convention expresses its esteem for the good work already being accomplished in this field by many men and women volunteers.

5. **FINDS** that every endeavour should be made to ensure the constant improvement of the stadards of general, Hebrew and labor education of the entire body of Histadrut members.

CITES various experiments in establishing schools of basic education for adult workers, and recommends the extension of the network of such schools in collaboration with the Government and the local authorities.

6. **CALLS** upon the Government of Israel substantially to extend the assistance rendered to Histadrut cultural activity.

7. **VIEWS** with favor the cooperation already achieved between the Histadrut and the Government as well as numerous local authorities in implementing cultural activity, especially in Hebrew language education, artistic self-expression etc., and recommending that the scope of such activities be extended.

8. **ASCRIBES** the utmost importance to the training of members of works committees and union officials in the discharwge of their functions. The Convention appreciates the work that has been done in this field, stresses that such work should be expended and intensified, and calls upon shop committees and factory managements to cooperate in this matter.

9. **DRAWS** members' attention to the need to extend activities of a high standard among members of retirement age, and cites with pleasure such work as has been done in this field.

10. **CHARGES** the Histadrut to institute a thorough examination of the significance of mechanization and automation processes for the Israeli economy, with a view to extending workers' skills, and assigns to the Culture and Education Center the task of submitting in the near future a plan of action which, in collaboration with the trade unions, institutions of higher education and Ministries concerned, will meet these needs.

11. **CALLS** upon the community's spiritual leaders, writers, artists, educators, scientists and researchers to donate of their talents to the Histadrut cultural effort.

12. **CONSIDERS** it of the utmost importance that one of the forthcoming sessions of the Histadrut Council be entirely devoted to a thorough examination of cultural and educational problems.

13. **VIEWS** with favor all instances of volunteer work in fields of Histadrut activity relating to the social-cultural

integration of new immigrants; and calls for the continuation, expansion and intensification of such activity.

14. APPLAUDS especially the activity of the Working Mothers' Organization in this field.

15. APPLAUDS the activities of the Working Women's Council in social-education and cultural work as a means of improving the woman's status in society and preparing her for her tasks in the Histadrut and the State.

16. ASCRIBES much importance to the activities of the Working Women's Council in the training of new immigrant women and in the moulding of the home and the family in Israel.

17. NOTES the swift and extensive development of the central publishing house of the Histadrut, **Am Ovéd**, (founded by the late Berl Katzenelson and later directed by the late Moshe Sharett), of **Tarbut Vehinuch, Sifriat Hapoalim, Hakibbutz Hameuchad** Publishers, the publications of the Working Women's Council and those of the trade unions.

Resolution No. XXII — "Education and Youth".

RESOLVES **to expand the self-education activity of the Histadrut, thus deepening education towards work and the labor movement and the realization of the principles defined in the State education law**; to continue with the establishment of kindergartens for children under compulsory school age, as well as day nurseries for children of working mothers; to increase the scholarships available for secondary and higher education; to work for the setting up of industrial schools under the suspices of Histadrut plants; to extend the network of school and kindergarten teachers' seminars, with preference being given to development areas; to develop educational activity among parents and to introduce labor movement studies into the secondary school curriculum.

NOTES *the necessity to maintain an overall authority for education affairs inside the Histadrut, within the frame of the Culture and Education Center; and in collaboration with those Histadrut branches and institutions which have an interest in education affairs.*

These Resolutions have provided the constitutional basis for the cultural and educational activity of the Histadrut. It is clear that their application to current needs will require unremitting efforts, best defined as the strategy and tactics of cultural activity. This is a task which rests both on the highest general policy-making bodies of the Hitadrut — the Executive Committee and the Executive Bureau — and, at the implementation stage, on the Culture and Education Center of the Histadrut in all its ramifications.

THE CULTURE AND EDUCATION CENTER

Organizationally, the Culture and Education Center is one of the Departments of the Histadrut's Executive Committee and comes under its jurisdiction. A member of the Executive Bureau is Chairman of the Center, while the latter's daily activity is administered by a General Director and a staff of departmental heads. Authority and current policy-making rest with the Center' Secretariat and the elective Plenary Council. The latter, numbering at present ninety-one members, is composed of public leaders, thinkers, artists, and functionaries, who represent, on the one hand, the total range of political views held by the Histadrut's membership, and on the other hand, its outstanding intellectual forces.

The Culture and Education Center's function is to initiate cultural programs on a national scale and also to stimulate and assist local cultural activities. Each of the Histadrut Labor Councils (local branches) has its own cultural section, which in the larger towns includes a staff of several full-time officials. The smaller Labor Councils have but one culture officer who, in some cases, works only part-time in the cultural field. The smallholders' cooperative villages (Moshavím) and communal settlements (Kibbutzím) elect standing committees from amongst their own members to conduct their own cultural activities.

Each department head at the Culture and Education Center exercises considerable responsibility and initiative, but he has the help of an advisory committee which includes people outside the staff of the Center itself. The system of advisory committees serves as a means of securing active public participation in the Center's cultural work. The aim is to extend it by establishing such committees for each of the local cultural departments. A link between the national Center and local activities is provided by five regional culture officers.

While the balance between central direction and local initiative may be difficult to define, the Center's aim must always be sufficient directing to ensure the standard and effectiveness of the programs, combined with a maximum local participation to prevent the membership from becoming merely passive recipients of cultural "goods."

For the actual implementation of the Center's work, the tactical unit or field of operation is an important question. Traditionally, the Labor Council or the rural settlement have always been considered the appropriate unit, and most of the Center's programs are organized on that premise. However, it is becoming obvious that more attention must be paid to the place of work as a forum for cultural programs. The question arises whether the residential district or the place of work is more important from the point of view of integrating newcomers into the country's cultural and social life. When is the worker most open to cultural influence, at work or at leisure? In practice, we have to pursue both approaches, assuming an interaction process between work and leisure experiences. Organizationally, this means that the Center, while maintaining its close contact with the Labor Council, must also foster direct contact with specific groups of workers at their places of employment, constantly sending out feelers, as it were, in order to keep in close touch at all times with the concrete basis of its work — those men and women whose individual lives and experiences are the ultimate object of our concern.

THE CHIEF OBJECT — INFORMATION

We must now dwell at some length on the conceptual content of the term "information." This concept is not identical with such terms as propaganda, agitation, or similar expressions. The ideology behind the Histadrut's information activity signifies, in this context, teaching, imparting knowledge, educating, with attention directed not only at the *result* but at the *manner* in which it is achieved. Whereas the main object of propaganda is at all costs to steer the attitude of the public involved in a direction desired by the propagandists, information — in the sense given it by the Histadrut's information agencies — seeks to present those concerned with the entire scope of a problem, to enable them to examine the merits and shortcomings of the opinions proposed, and to select judiciously, through their own deliberation, those which seem most acceptable. Hence the great emphasis placed on study material and the educational objective in the Histadrut's information activity. Hence, also, its manifold difficulties. For it is clear that combining study and education with information means traversing a longer road. Propaganda makes use of short-cuts, and today enjoys ultra-modern vehicles for the purpose. Radio, television, a cheap press, illustrated periodicals are the most outstanding ones. Occasionally (there are no fixed rules) it achieves signal results, whereas information can be said to trudge along on foot, depending more on the personal contact between educator and pupil, on hard work — meaning the employment of slightly "outmoded" tools. The Histadrut's information activity is constantly confronted with this dilemma: should it work in depth, with conventional instruments, or in breadth, making full use of mass communications media. This is a much as to say that there can be no escape from superimposing propaganda elements on information, just as everything needs to be done to ensure that propaganda should absorb informational values to the utmost extent possible.

Training Functionaries

The exposition-propaganda continuum thus constitutes the anvil on which the various forms of Histadrut information are hammered out. Its central aim is to educate towards good citizenship within the Histadrut and in the State, to provide reliable information about what is going on in both and to give appropriate training and orientation for the discharging of functions in all of the Histadrut's extensions. Histadrut information, then, not only branches out into manifold forms but must also be conducted on an intensive scale. At the highest level, as intimated, there is the widebranched undertaking for the training of functionaries. At the primary and most inclusive level, information is disseminated to the largest possible number of people. This information may be classified according to its main technical forms: word-of-mouth information, written material, visual matter, field trips, and excursions. Within each of these categories there are, of course, subdivisions. Word-of-mouth information activities include books, handbooks, manuals, pamphlets, illustrated posters, daily and periodical publications. Visual methods are applied to exhibitions, wall-publications, printed slogans, films, movie-shorts, or slides. The Histadrut's information service employs all these instruments and is also aided by the communications media in broadcasting programs of interest to the Histadrut public. The arrival of television in Israel in the near future will undoubtedly reinforce its capacities for broadcasting programs of interest and importance to its members.

If one accepts the premise that the Histadrut is both an outlook and a way of life, that loyalty to the Histadrut transcends the formality of affiliation and consists also of identification with its values, then clearly its information activities cannot be restricted to mere visual communication. It must aspire to a permeation of all its work in the field of culture, education, and information, in the course of transmitting them to the public, with these values. This kind of integration applies to other fields, too. Under any circumstances it is by no means an easy task, nor it is at all times discharged to perfection. The Culture and Education Center regards this integration as an intrinsic part of its ideology and one justifying its very wide range of activities. If it did not seek to stamp its activities with the Histadrut ideological imprint, other ones would replace it. Culture in the narrower sense, knowledge, education, these are not matters that can be totally neutralized. The recipient who fails to grasp them in one ideological context, will almost invariably allow them to be colored by attitudes drawn from other sources. Hence, we may rightly define the Culture and Education Center as aspiring simultaneously to be totally informative and totally educational over as broadly as possible a range of activities and undertakings. This is equally true of other Histadrut departments and functions.

To recapitulate: everything yields information, everything educates; the question is always, "How, and to what end?" Therefore, the deliberate emphasis placed on integrating the elements of information and education worthy of the name should be seen in the light of our aspiration to achieve a profounder integration of these elements within the framework of the Histadrut.

THE LABOR STUDIES COLLEGE

Having stressed that the most intensive level in the Histadrut's activity in the fields being discussed is the training of functionaries, two aspects of this training should be noted: a general orientation for practical duties in all fields of Histadrut activity, and specialized training for specific tasks.

There is a manifest connection between general training for active duties and tasks directly concerned with information and education. The Histadrut being so highly ramified an organization, those who shoulder the burden are many. Some of these people are on full time employment, others carry the responsibility on a voluntary basis as elected representatives in various committees, commissions, and other bodies which are responsible in varying degrees for cultural affairs with all that the term implies. The former officially constitute the Histadrut administrative apparatus. The others, however, also represent a complex organism the vital importance of which cannot be overestimated.

Undoubtedly, it is a primary mission of the Histadrut to equip both segments of this great body of people with the appropriate general training both in the field of culture and information proper as well as in the attendant functional, executive fields.

Immediately, however, the questions arises, why both these tasks should not actually be regarded as one task governed by two criteria, a general educational and a functional one? This is a difficult problem and admittedly the Histadrut has not solved it yet entirely. It has successfully established a number of undertakings for comprehensive training in educational and information work. Autonomous organizations and unions within the Histadrut have set up several vocational training enterprises. The solution to the problem of fully integrating general training and specifically vocational training still awaits solution. We propose to enlarge here somewhat on the matter of comprehensive training, but we shall not ignore the importance of integrating the general educational factor with specific training. And let it moreover be remembered that this is one of the most fundamental problems besetting specifically vocational training, whatever the shade, throughout many countries of the world.

The Histadrut's *Labor Studies College* in Tel-Aviv is easily in the forefront of all the resident adult training institutions in the country. From its very founding, it has steadfastly carried out its task by conducting short and long term seminars, ranging from one week to a year, to train Labor Council and shop committee personnel in the basic values of the Histadrut and the State, to instruct them in economics, social science in general, administration and legislation. Other spheres of knowledge are also included in the various curricula of these courses, the overall objective of which is to endow the students with a more facile orientation and a basic capacity to act in the situations they are likely to encounter in the course of discharging their duties.

This institution is headed by a board elected by the Histadrut. The Chairman of the Board is Zalman Aranne, Minister for Education and Culture in the Cabinet, whose initiative gave rise to the College. The College Board, as well as its active administration, includes representatives of the Histadrut Culture and Education Center.

The College cooperates closely with the Center organizationally (eg., in setting up seminars), in the planning of curricula, and in financing the courses. It has acquired excellent repute throughout the Histadrut and the country in general, and various central bodies are eager to enlist its services in implementing their own seminar programs.

Established in 1947, the College to day consists of three wings: the study wing, including lecture halls, classrooms, study and readings rooms, and a library; the service wing, consisting of dining-halls, the kitchen, and sanitary services; and a dormitory wing with 53 rooms.

Every seminar held at the College has a group leader and counsellor, and in addition to the permanent administrative and service personnel, it commands a staff of forty lecturers and teachers, as well as public figures who lecture at frequent intervals. A significant number of the College's lecturers are people of academic status who divide their time between the country's universities, other institutions of higher learning, and the College.

The College conducts twelve different kinds of seminars in collaboration with various Histadrut departments and national bodies such as the Kibbutz and Moshav movements, which annually carry out a wide range of seminar projects within the frame of the College.

We repeat, however, that the chief aim of the activity directly initiated by the College is the training of Histadrut functionaries in those subjects essential to the discharge of their responsibilities in the cultural and trade union spheres. Great emphasis is placed, in connection with shop committee personnel, on young workers between the ages of 22 and 33. And, of course, the institution's facilities are fully utilized for coaching newcomers to the country in the requirements of good citizenship.

A study of the following table of the College's seminar projects during its twenty years of existence reveals the quality and indicates the channels of this important institution's activities:

HISTADRUT LABOR STUDIES COLLEGE
Summary of Twenty Years' Activity (1947—1967)

Number of Seminars		Kind of Seminar	Number of Students
A.	332	Histadrut functionaries; shop-committee members; Trade Union Secretaries; young workers; culture, organization, and immigrant integration coordinators for Labor Councils	12,800
B.	142	Histadrut institution and Labor Economy enterprise employees	4,450
C.	15	Economics, sociology, administration, and cooperation (evenings for two years)	1,087
D.	153	Members of various types of cooperatives	5,335
E.	51	Coordinators and functionaries of Working Women's Council and Organization of Working Mothers	2,393
	217	For members of Histadrut Farm Communities	8,350
	350	For new immigrants and coordinators of immigrant centers	13,000
H.	65	For youth, youth counsellors, and pre-settlement training groups	2,176
I.	43	For Arab and Druze functionaries of Trade Unions and Cooperatives	1,180
J.	10	For seafarers of Israel Merchant Marine	161
K.	76	For Government and municipal employees	2,511
L.	32	International Seminars for Labor Economics and Cooperation	845
M.	24	For members of **Haganah**, Zahal (Israel Defence Forces), and Security Services (1947-48)	1,104
		Total 1,540 Seminars	56,540 participants
		1,710 Study Days	55,605 participants

Reduced to one inclusive figure, the total number of students attending the College's courses annually is 4,000 — men and women — and this apart from one day or week-end study sessions for limited purposes.

OTHER SCHOOLS

To complete the picture, mention should be made of three other educational institutions located in proximity to and cooperating with the Labor Studies College in Tel-Aviv.

One is the *School of Cooperation,* founded jointly by the Histadrut and the Israel Ministry of Labor and maintained autonomously on the College premises.

The second is the *Latin American Center for Cooperation and Labor Studies,* established jointly by the International Department of the Histadrut and the International Cooperation Division of the Foreign Ministry. Likewise availing itself of the Labor College's premises and facilities since its founding in 1962, this Center has conducted courses in labor studies and cooperation for over 600 highly placed labor and government officials from Latin American countries, for whom the Israeli experience is particularly significant. (In addition to the courses held in Israel, a considerable number of mobile courses have accommodated more than 500 students in most of the countries of Latin America).

Afro-Asian Institute

The *Histadrut Afro-Asian Institute* occupies premises of its own immediately adjacent to the College and sharing with it a number of service facilities. Founded in 1961, the Afro-Asian Institute has up till now conducted seventeen 100 day courses, alternately in French and English, for trade unionists and cooperators from Africa, Asia, and the English speaking areas of the Carribean. The studies at this Institute include fixed periods of field work in rural settlements (Moshavim, Kibbutzim) as well as study visits to organized places of employment, agricultural primary and secondary cooperatives, and trade union institutions. More than 1250 students have thus far participated in these regular courses given by the Institute which, *in addition,* sponsors special courses and meetings of an international nature, frequently in cooperation with international organizations and labor colleges abroad, on subjects of concern to workers and their organizations. The Institute's facilities include living accommodations and service facilities for the students, an excellent library in English and French, and, of course, classrooms, lecture halls, and recreation rooms.

Both the Latin American Center and the Afro-Asian Institute function under separate administration, for obvious reasons, but their proximity to the Labor Studies College and the actual cooperation between them have yielded the twofold advantage of bringing student guests from abroad in close friendly contact with young Israeli workers and have thus contributed to a mutual broadening of horizons and deepening of understanding.

Ohalo

Ohalo, on the banks of the Jordan River, where it flows south out of the Sea of Galilee, is the second large institution maintained by the Histadrut's Education and Culture Center for training functionaries and leaders. Its name (*Ohalo* means *His Tabernacle*) commemorates Berl Katzenelson, the great, driving spiritual force behind Israel's Labor Movement throughout four decades until his death in 1944. From its founding, this school was the object of special care by the late Ben-Zion Israeli, of K'vutzat Kinneret, who devoted his primary attention to it until his untimely death in 1954. During the firt years of its existence, it was administratively independent, though cooperating closely with the Center. Some years ago it was brought formally under the direct administration of the Center, but a large representation of the Jordan Valley Settlements continues to participate in the practical management, while K'vutzat Kinneret continues to bestow its special sponsorship.

The central aim of *Ohalo* continues to be that of inculcating its students with the social and spiritual values of the workers' settlements (Kibbutzim and Moshavim) as developed in the Jordan Valley; and one cannot help remarking that the grandeur and majesty of the surroundings play a significant role in accomplishing this end. Around this central aim, a wide network of training and educational activities, similar to those of the Labor Studies Colleges, has developed.

A summary of *Ohalo's* activities for the year 1966 conveys some idea of this school's purposes and achievements:

There was an increase of 4,200 study days as compared with the previous year, for a total of 29,000 study days within various curricular frameworks, which accommodated a total of 9,000 people. The Seminary for Rural teachers, founded in 1965, underwent considerable expansion. During the first year of its existence, it consisted of one class with 27 students. In 1966, there were three classes with 80 enrolled students. By the time this material goes to press, the first class will have been graduated and its newly qualified teachers will be at work teaching in frontier settlements and development towns throught the area from Upper Galilee down to the Bet-She'an Valley.

The pressing need for a teachers' seminary compelled *Ohalo* temporarily to suspend the elementary education course for discharged servicemen which it had conducted for five years at the rate of three courses annually. The object of these courses had been to enable young men, freshly discharged from their obligatory military service, who for many reasons had not completed their elementary schooling, to fill in the gaps through concentrated study courses and thus more effectively to equip themselves for finding employment and discharging their duties as citizens. These courses had actually gone beyond their formal task of schooling and by creating a homelike atmosphere of warmth and guidance had helped tide these boys over the period of confusion and insecurity that frequently besets a young man when he leaves the armed services. They were of particular value to those whose childhood, owing to adverse social and economic conditions at home, had deprived them of the normal opportunity to acquire an elementary education. It is agreed among all those responsible for *Ohalo* that this and similar measures, that had to be adopted during 1966 after its expanding program had outstripped the capacity of its premises, are but temporary and that the suspended activities will be speedily resumed. Indeed, the approaching completion of new accommodations now being constructed for the teachers' seminar promises to make this possible in the very near future.

Ohalo's activities for the years 1965 and 1966 are presented in tabular form on the following page:

Activities at Ohalo During the Years 1965 and 1966

	1966			1965		
Study Framework	Number	No. of Participants	Days of Instruction	Number	No. of Participants	Days of Instructio
Seminars	49	2178	9859	35	1575	7245
Study Sessions	19	1178	1178	27	1667	1667
Teachers' Seminary	1 class	27	5750	3 classes	81	18883
Education Center	3	107	7995	4 Rest camps	179	1253
TOTALS	72	3490	24782	69	3501	29028
Youth & Hehaluts Groups	11	553	1810	6	255	570
Meetings with Lodgings	14	1810	1800	25	2195	2746
Meetings without Lodgings	27	2703	—	24	2416	—
TOTALS	52	5066	3618	55	4866	—

Total Number Meal Days	2840	Total Number Meal Days	32344
Guest at Ohalo	8555	Guests at Ohalo	8367

Haifa

The Haifa Histadrut Functionaries' Training Center was founded in 1963 under the joint initiative of the Culture and Education Center and the Haifa Labor Council. This institution aims to develop its own educational patterns, such as a day school for shop committee members, morning seminars, evening seminars, women's seminars, working youth seminars, central vocational training seminars, and study sessions for workers' rural settlements (Kibbutzim, Moshavim). The school is housed mainly at *Oranim* on Mt. Carmel, but it is urgently in need of a building of its own, adapted to its requirements. Lacking its own facilities, it is unable to afford its student the optimum conditions inherent in residence and the generation of a congenial social and academic atmosphere. The Center endeavors to overcome this handicap by initiating original projects in a variety of fields.

In the Negev

The Negev Training and Study Center for Histadrut Functionaries is accommodated at *Beit-Yatziv* in Be'er-Sheba and its activities are conducted jointly with the Be'er-Sheba Labor Council. This Center's principal aim is to include all of the Histadrut's Negev cadres in its regular study and training programs. However, it has also begun to attract Histadrut personnel from other areas. In this it is encouraged by the Culture and Education Center, since the latter is interested in having Histadrut members from other localities get down to the Negev, to learn to know it and familiarize themselves with its problems and achievements. Negev study, indeed, is one of the fundamental components of each semester's curriculum. Quite recently, an annual Seminar has been set up for studying problems of the economy, society, and cooperation. Its sessions are held in the evening and it functions along the lines worked out by a similar Seminar which has now been conducted for a number of years at the Tel-Aviv Histadrut Labor Studies College.

Beit Dagon

Towards the end of 1964, the Histadrut acquired another valuable asset in this field, the Agricultural Workers' House at Beit-Dagon. This building was erected at the initiative of the Agricultural Workers' Center and the National Union of Agricultural Wage Workers. The Culture and Education Center includes this institution as one of the schools within its sphere of activities, so that now there are *five* training institutions directly available for the Histadrut's training work.

In addition to these five, there are other places mainly in the central part of the country, which host seminars organized by the Culture and Education Center and other Histadrut institutions. Two interesting and important experiments launched during 1964 are worth mentioning. The Moetzet Ha-Poalot (Working Women's Council) inaugurated a "Prep Year" for leaders in this organization. The study and training for the women in this course were conducted on the basis of weekly meetings. The other experiment was carried out by the *Egged* and *Dan* transport cooperatives, which sent some of their members to take part in brief seminars held for their benefit at the Labor Studies College.

We can now summarize the training activities conducted annually by the Culture and Education Center through the Labor Studies College, *Ohalo, Oranim* near Haifa, *Beit-Yatziv* in Beer-Sheba, and the Agricultural Workers' House at

Beit-Dagon, in close cooperation with the various Departments of the Histadrut General Executive Committee, the Working Women's Council, the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency, and other bodies. It encompasses more than ten thousand people every year, and this, all circumstances considered, is an impressive figure.

As for evaluating the results qualitatively, it is obvious that such a summary cannot be a uniform one. The average duration of most of the Seminars at the above-mentioned institutions is one week, and while undoubtedly their participants come away with definite, positive gains in knowledge and training, the most commonly heard "complaint" is that the seminars have only served to whet appetites and that more is wanted. Still, if the yardstick is one of expanded horizons and stimulation to further study, or renewed or reintensified faith in the Histadrut and its mission, and, not least, of companionship and mutual esteem in a democratic milieu, then these activities are certainly achieving their purpose.

One of the most formidable difficulties hindering the expansion of these courses to beyond the one week average is that of securing the release of workers (including shop committee members), very many of them with families to support, from their places of employment for the period required while ensuring their income during absence from work. Those of them who work in Histadrut institutions are not easily spared from their duties for more than a week at a time owing to the unabating pressure of affairs. The question is, therefore, a smaller number of students for longer courses, or larger numbers for shorter periods of time. The solution has been sought in a compromise which would enable comparatively, fewer courses to be given over more extended periods while not foregoing the typical short-term seminars for larger numbers of participants. The major hindrance to such a solution, of course, is that it requires considerable resources to maintain a limited number of students in extended study courses. Hence, the latter part of the compromise could be implemented only at much greater intervals than we would regard as ideal. Clearly, for the present and for some time to come, priority must be given to short term seminars embracing the maximum number of participants possible.

Not, however, to the *total* exclusion of the more extended, more specialized courses. As the latter, within the course of time, become increasingly more urgent, as the need for more highly trained people, with which to staff on a part-time or full time basis the Histadrut's local, regional, and national bodies, — as this need grows apace, more efforts and resources will nevertheless have to be invested in extended courses which will impart, in addition to the requirements of constructive membership in the Histadrut and good citizenship in the State of Israel, more detailed and specialized instruction at a higher intellectual and vocational level. As indicated, no satisfactory solution to this problem has yet been found.

Yet even at the present stage of the Histadrut's seminar and training activities, there is a constant need for drawing up study programs, for keeping didactic and educational methodology abreast of developments in these fields, for publishing books, syllabuses, and turning out other indispensable educational equipment. All this constitutes a special branch in the field of adult education in Israel. The Histadrut Culture and Education Center, together with the Labor Studies College, have been actively engaged in publishing books and manuals as aids to the seminar participants. These publications have supplemented the information obtained through lectures and discussion sessions on the Histadrut's structure and functions. Their value lies especially in the fact that the student, having completed his brief course of study, is able to take home with him a compact little library to which he can constantly refer as the need arises.

There have also been several attempts to convene those engaged in the actual work in order to thresh out the various problems of a pedagogical and didactic nature and to adopt common terms of reference in performing these tasks. In this connection, the achievements as well as the failures encountered in other countries have been studied. One of the questions raised as a result was whether it would be possible to establish in Israel the type of institution known in Denmark as a "Folk High School", an institution which has made decisive contributions toward shaping that country's general cultural level. The question is of particular significance in connection with the education of Israel's youth and its young generation in general. There is certainly room in Israel for the existence of schools for young adults in which they could acquire the art of living through the original educational method of combining Israel's experience with that of other peoples.

What is outstandingly apparent, in a word, is that the Histadrut faces a vital need ever more to broaden and deepen the training activities for its cadres.

Shop Committee schools is the new branch of cadre training recently developed by the Culture and Education Center and the Labor Councils. These consist of instruction sessions held for regular groups of students from among shop committee members in their own localities for fixed periods of time, usually during the winter months. Every year, between thirty and forty such "schools" are held for a total of some 2,000 pupils. The program of studies consists of Histadrut theory and practice, elementary civics, and orientation on current events in Israel and the Middle East Area. The advantage in these schools is that they obviate the need to be absent from the job. Lessons take place after work hours at the local Histadrut centers or other meeting places in the community. Their disadvantage lies in the fact that the studies are not concentrated within definite time limits. They are strung out over a long period. An additional difficulty is that of getting lecturers to these places who are properly qualified and capable of focusing the attention of people understandably tired after a day's work. In practice, this system often settles down into a series of lectures before a fixed audience. The method, then, is not to be disparaged, but it would require more basic justification to qualify for the designation of "school." But again, an additional advantage lies in the relatively cheap costs involved and in the possibility, theoretical at least, of thereby reaching through to a large segment of the active Histadrut members on these shop committees. This, indeed, has been the declared purpose of the Culture and Education Center.

LECTURES, DISCUSSIONS, EXCURSIONS

It is the *lecture* that has been and remains the most widespread instrument of word-of-mouth information. No adequate substitute has been found. It has its shortcomings, yet it is indispensable. The number of lectures sponsored annually by the Center and the Labor Councils is approximately 10,000. If we add to this figure the lectures sponsored by various other Histadrut bodies without engaging the central organization's services, the number will be doubled. A good lecturer, in fact, can not only stimulate his audience to absorb the substance of his message; he can arouse it to a lively response in the form of questions, discussion, and debate. Quite frequently there is a variation on the lecture method through the use of a panel of speakers for a "question and answer" evening.

Occasionally such terms as "open forum" or "symposium" are employed to designate such concentrated lecture programs, but the ingredient shared by all of them is the speech directed at the audience with the purpose of focusing its interest to the point of active participation in the discussion. Audience participation is what adult educaton aspires to and it constitutes the main object of word-of-mouth information activity.

The organizational patters for such activity can be as follows:

Study groups on social and cultural problems.

With the help of a moderator, small groups of adults who have indicated their interest in these problems meet for group discussion of matters of current interest in these spheres. Nearly forty such groups have been organized by various Labor Councils, but it would be premature to attempt any evaluation of their educational significance. Unquestionably, it is of utmost importance for a group of adults to be able to meet in a congenial atmosphere in which everybody may have his say, air problems, and get things "off his chest." The aim is not exclusively an "intellectual" one. The creation of social infrastructures for its members is a need sorely felt today by the Histadrut. Social-intellectual groups may be, if but partly, able to supply this need. The Central Socio-cultural Study Group that has been meeting at Beit-Lessin has had considerable success in the number of active participants and the subjects discussed. In many localities outside Tel-Aviv, the development of such circles is hindered by the fact that "a prophet is without honor in his own country." The people there demand that lecturer-moderators be sent from the Center, and that would be a formidable task.

Executive Bureau teams.

An instructive experience has been that of conducting meetings between members of the Histadrut's Executive Bureau, together with the directors of Histadrut institutions and Executive Committee departments, and the public. This, too, has as its object the strengthening of word-of-mouth information service and forging closer ties between the body of the Histadrut's membership and those in leadership posts. These meetings are held annually at scores of Labor Council centers and have generally met with widespread favorable response. Rank-and-file Histadrut members have the opportunity, on such occasions, to put questions, to demand explanations for matters which strike them as unwarranted or inexplicable — and to get replies from an authoritative source. The Trade Union Department of the Executive Committee, together with the Culture and Education Center, has initiated another type of meeting in the trade union sphere, which, today, represents a focal point of general interest. These meetings are in the form of question and answer programs.

Study days.

This, again, is a form of multiple-lecture programs. For the most part, they take place away from the residence areas of the participants — either at the Labor Studies College or in Kibbutzim. On these occasions they obtain a concentrated "dose" of information and explanations in a number of spheres. Such a "study day" bridges, so to speak, the gap between a short seminar and a single lecture. On frequent occasions it can become a virtual experience, if its organizers are successful not only in securing a high standard of lectures but also in ensuring a warm, congenial atmosphere with opportunities to exchange views, enjoy a splendid landscape, and admire the creative prowess of their hosts.

These being the most commonly employed forms of word-of-mouth information, it may be asked at this point how effective it is. The question has several parts: what is the volume of information thereby communicated and how is it absorbed? For how long a time? In what form? Does such information exert any influence on the public's behavior? Does it, in other words, yield any educational results?

With such efforts invested in the field of information, the answers to the foregoing questions could only be found through constant research. However, it is only in recent years that the Culture and Education Center has been able to embark on such a course. With the establishment of a Research and Statistics Department, inquiries and follow-ups were conducted on the results of information activities. Analysis of the data obtained did not yield consistently encouraging results, but on the other hand it is quite obvious that research and follow-up methods will have to be perfected in order to insure sufficiently valid findings for charting future activities by word-of-mouth both in terms of presentation methods and subject matter selected.

Group Excursions.

Trips to various parts of Israel outside the major population centers of the coastal plain serve as one of the most popular and fruitful means of educational and informational activity. For many Histadrut members, these excursions have proved the royal road to becoming acquainted with their country and its problems, to achieving emotional identification with the land through learning to love its countryside and the historical aura that surrounds almost every square yard of Israel's soil north, south, in the Negev, and the Dead Sea wilderness. Some 100,000 people participate annually in these trips, which are organized jointly by the Tours Division of the Culture and Education Center and the Labor Councils or other Histadrut institutions, chief among which is the Organizational Department of the General Executive Committee and the Information Center of the Prime Minister's Office.

Visual information.

While group tours might also be included in this category of information, in current terminology it refers primarily to documentary film shorts. These have now become an important branch of the Culture and Education Center's work. To date, alone or in partnership with the Histadrut institutions directly concerned, the Center has produced more than forty such films covering the wide spectrum of subjects and activities in its domain. These have included such widely varied topics as the story of a Kibbutz in the Dead Sea Wilderness, how a worker spends his leisure time, Hebrew instruction for new immigrants, sports for workers, water prospecting in Israel, vocational training for young people, or youth activities.

The Culture and Education Center's Film Division is actively affiliated with the International Labor Film Institute (ILFI), and in 1963 was host to the Institute's Triennial Congress and Film Festival.

The Center's visual information service also includes film transparencies, and mobile exhibits which likewise help liven up various culture and recreational programs.

The problem of printed information has not been adequately solved. It is true that a wealth of material is published in the form of booklets, digests, and manuals, but it must be admitted that amidst this flood of printed matter published annually in Israel it has been rather difficult for the Histadrut's printed information to carve a path uniquely its own. The daily press, and particularly the afternoon tabloids, has been more successful in this than have the various booklets and leaflets sponsored by the Histadrut. This situation is aggravated by the fact that the latter publications lag behind the daily papers in speed of delivery and various secondary eye-catching devices. Of course, this is a problem of general significance and it reflects the struggle between mass communications media and the more orthodox channels of information. The question of acquiring a commensurate role in the mass communications media is a fundamental problem of the Histadrut's information service. While it is true that the Histadrut does have a time allottment on the schedules of *Kol Yisrael,* the State Broadcasting Service, it is very little indeed in view of the scope of its requirements. With the impending introduction of television broadcasts in Israel, this problem will assume graver proportions.

LEARNING

By the term "learning" we designate the numerous efforts made by the Histadrut to raise the level of Hebrew, Jewish, Israeli, labor, and general education for the entire body of Histadrut membership everywhere. It is an open question whether this should also include endeavors to raise vocational training standards, since doing so would entail a considerable broadening of the scope of activities. What is clear is that the two spheres, general learning at all levels and vocational knowledge, are contiguous and interactive. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that they *should* be contiguous and that on the implementing of this postulate the solution to one of the paramount problems in today's educational word depends: the connection and the interaction between vocational specialization and broad vistas of learning.

One hardly need emphasize the tremendous importance of learning in the arena of Histadrut activities. As for the State of Israel as a whole, so too for the Histadrut it is of prime importance that its members advance continuously in the extent and diversification of their knowledge.

The stupendous development throughout the world that has attended our era's far-reaching technological changes has made it increasingly patent that in our day nobody can hold his own spiritually, socially, or professionally unless he succeeds in tying in his personal life-program as an adult with a process of unceasing, unlimited absorption of knowledge. At no age may or should anybody declare that he has done, that he already possesses all the degrees to which an educated person may aspire and can therefore rest quietly on the laurels of his academic achievements. Such an assumption is unfounded. The modern outlook on adult education, one that is increasingly occupying a prominent position in the philosophy of adult education, is that the process is necessarily interminable. (One cannot help observing that this now widely accepted recognition of the need for permanently continuing adult education at all levels is completely in accord with one of the most venerable of Jewish traditions.)

Even though we are not at all times duly attentive to the revolution in which we are engulfed, it is necessary to remember that the period we live in has been defined by scholars as the Age of Scientific Revolution. Robert Oppenheimer has ascertained that the volume of knowledge at the disposal of humanity is now doubled every ten years. From this it follows that a person who, having completed his course of studies, fails for the ensuing decade to keep abreast of developments at least in his own field, is to all intents and purposes an ignoramus. Herein, perhaps, lies the great difference between our own age and the preceeding millenia: it is all but impossible, even from a material-benefit point of view, to keep up with one's profession intellectually without constant and systematic resort to study; there is hardly a profession or vocation that does not rest now on scientifically determined premises rather than on empirically acquired know-how.

If at one time the ideal elementary education terminated at the age of 14 (and that in itself was considered a major breakthrough which not all of the globe's inhabitants have as yet achieved), then today the view is rapidly gaining ground that not only is secondary education inadequate but that even university training is in itself insufficient and is to be regarded rather as the end of a beginning rather than a completion.

However, since in the vast majority of cases it is impossible to keep a person in a formal classroom all his life, a desirable alternative is to combine work with learning. It could be summarized as a slogan: *Keep Learning While You're Earning.* The application, however, is infinitely more complicated. For one thing, the facts of biology cannot be overlooked. A young man studying medicine is not ready to embark upon his practice until the age of 30. The same is expected to be required soon of engineers. Yet, are we to expect students to remain students till the age of 40? This differential between physiological maturity and the age of employability constitutes one of the most acute of current problems, with large numbers of young people who are physically mature and subject to the drives and demands of maturity still constrained to invest years of effort in completing the process of intellectual, professional maturation, on which their eventual social independence is conditional.

It may very well be, in view of such circumsstances, that a fourth stage in learning will have to become a permanent feature of our society, and this is what we mean by education for adults. A person studying in an institution for advanced learning is a physiologically mature student. Our concern is with a process whereby people may be able to go to work, establish families, without ceasing to learn. The objective then is *adult education for all.* Ideally, in other words, the solution should be for the people as a whole to be a working and learning society — with no barriers separating the one activity from the other.

Practically, the question arises, who is to carry the load? Our answer to this is, Society and The State. Adult education, by its very nature, has to be separate from the formal organizational structure of a university, a high school, or an elementary school. It has to be more an expression of the free will of the learning workers, and it must aspire to the attainment of additional aims. Its motivation cannot be intellectual alone; it must respond to social requirements as well. This is why the Histadrut has a vital stake in adult education even from a general point of view. It is a fact that in all countries this is one of the fundamental problems faced by all labor organizations.

However, besides the general aim of removing the barrier between advanced learning and the workshop, which is of crucial importance to the very existence of the labor movement, the Histadrut in Israel has additional reasons for probing the issue in depth. Our goal in this country has not only been the establishment of a state, the upbuilding of a country, but the creation of a new society as well. It is the attainment of this three-faceted ideal that would provide the solution to our national problem. Any failure on our part to integrate these three would result in a total cleavage between the sphere of work and that of learning, would mean a retreat from our social idea which would lead to the rise of mutually antagonistic strata within the Histadrut. The concept, then, of synthesizing intellectuality with the pursuit of industrial or agricultural vocations, and thus ensuring the existence of one integral working class rather than a stratified one in which academicians are a group apart remains a cardinal objective. The problem of learning and of culture, in other words, is not one of theoretical knowledge but a social problem of primary importance. The solution lies in the elevation of work proper to a higher technological level. The working man must be able to employ all modern technological means. It is a question of dovetailing technology with labor, of labor with learning, not only through formal instruction but through permanently continuing study.

Hence, the Histadrut must, if it has an eye to the future, redouble its efforts in depth and in breadth in the educational field. These efforts begin with the war for the eradication of illiteracy, but they are *necessarily endless,* for the subject itself is unlimited.

Within the framework of the Culture and Education Center it is the Department for Learning and Hebrew Language Instruction that functions in the fields discussed.

Language.

The Department's primary task is the teaching of Hebrew. The use of Hebrew as a spoken language is so taken for granted today, that one often fails to appreciate the problems entailed in its revival and adaptation to modern life. The teaching of Hebrew has been a central function of the Labor Movement's education program since its first days in this country. Its importance has increased immeasurably with the vast polyglot waves of immigration that followed the year 1948. Since independence, the Center has cooperated with the Ministry of Education and Culture in conducting hundreds of Hebrew language courses. The Working Women's Council (Moetzet Ha-Poalot) has also played a notable role here. While most of the Histadrut's Hebrew courses are in the form of part-time classes held several times a week, occasionally more intensive full-time courses are given.

In recent years, however, it became obvious that classes in Hebrew were not enough. The flow of immigrants from underdeveloped countries included many thousands of both sexes who had had no educational opportunities in their countries of origin. Some were completely illiterate, others had only the most rudimentary education. It would be quite inadequate to say that with free and compulsory elementary schooling for children the latter would solve the problem. The illiteracy of parents has affected their children at every turn, apart from the economic handicap for the breadwinner inherent in illiteracy.

In the struggle against illiteracy, too, the Culture and Education Center has acted jointly with the Ministry of Education and Culture. Classes are held in different parts of the country, and in some places — notably, in Jerusalem — regular workers' schools have been established. These schools for adults offer programs ranging from the first to the highest elementary school grades, and sometimes beyond. The students attend partly, and understandably, from economic motives; but they are also actuated by a feeling that a citizen of Israel should be educated. Where this feeling is lacking, it must be nurtured.

Regional Centers.

To bring educational facilities within reach of all adults desiring it, a network of regional centers has been in the process of development in rural areas. Sponsored jointly by the Histadrut and the Government Ministries of Welfare and of Education and Culture, with the cooperation of the Jerusalem Hebrew University, the program is still largely feeling its way. Educational Centers at different levels have been opened in immigrant villages, in Kibbutzim (mainly through local initiative), and in the development towns. Among Kibbutz members in particular, especially the young people in the newer frontier Kibbutzim, there is a great craving for study in the liberal arts, social sciences, and Judaica.

Correspondence School.

For many years now, the Histadrut has successfully conducted a Correspondence School with many thousands of pupils enrolled. The School, which maintains itself on tuition fees, gives courses in secondary school subjects, agriculture, clerical work, technical studies, labor studies, and, in certain fields, university level courses too. These courses combine correspondence lessons with a certain amount of oral instruction.

Radio.

A daring venture in popular education was the People's University of the Air launched by the Histadrut in 1962 in cooperation with the Voice of Israel (Kol Yisrael) Broadcasting Service. Here the experience of the correspondence school was put to use through the combining of different learning media. Copies of lectures and supplementary material are supplied on request, and listeners may even be tested if they wish. The formation of joint listeners' and discussion groups is encouraged. Lectures are broadcast once weekly on each of three different topics — three lectures in all.

Booklet Series.

Another Culture and Education Center project has been the issuing of a series of educational booklets as the basis of a popular scientific library. Also, a number of secondary schools for adults, with classes after working hours, have been established in different parts of Israel, and to these the Center extends its support.

Quite an interesting and rather unusual type of institution is the Absalom Institute for Israel Studies. "Israelica" is a very popular subject in the young state, and it defies exact definition in English. It includes the geography and topography of the country, a study of the flora and fauna of each locality *and* its historic associations. It involves a combination of Bible study, archeology, and natural history together with the study of modern developments. Although essentially an outdoor activity, it is based on broad reading as well. The guides who accompany the trips, or *tiyulim,* must pass a stiff course in Israel Studies. The Institute also sponsors and directs the numerous amateur groups which meet regularly, combining lectures and talks with outdoor exploration. This integrated approach to Israel Studies, encouraged by the schools and the youth movements, has been a powerful influence among the young people towards a love and knowledge of country.

The Histadrut's Absalom Institute conducts courses for guides on week-ends, employing the syllabus issued by the Hebrew University in this field but attempting to work out timetables convenient for working people. A student transferring to full-time study at the University gets credit for attendance at the Institute.

The Man and Labor Museum, which is devoted to the history of material culture in this country, is maintained by the Absalom Institute. The latter, also, regularly issues scientific publications.

All the activities described are more or less intensive in character, directed at limited groups of people interested in systematic study. There are, however, many study circles which represent an intermediate stage between systematic study and casual programs. Their range of interest is extremely wide and varied, demonstrating the truth of the philosopher's saying that "nothing human is alien to me." The Histadrut is ready to and does encourage and assist any such group to pursue its own interests. Naturally, however, it is particularly concerned with encouraging activities that lead to a deeper understanding of the Jewish cultural heritage and of current social problems and trends. Indeed, of these study groups, Bible study circles, already mentioned, are the most numerous.

A recent innovation has been the establishment of Institutes of Culture and Education in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Extension Department of the Jerusalem Hebrew University.

The extensive aspect of the Histadrut's educational work is represented by individual lectures given on almost every topic of current or general interest. While a single lecture cannot obviously go very deeply into any subject, the popular lecture can play an important part in keeping the membership in touch with developments in a great variety of fields. In this matter, there are no rules: some lectures relate to specific occasions, significant dates or anniversaries, others discuss literary trends, scientific developments, or social problems. Again, the chief difficulty is to find lecturers who combine a thorough knowledge of their subject with the capacity to attract an audience, hold its attention, and present the subject effectively.

SCIENCE

One might perhaps say that problems of learning are easier to solve than those of information — if we regard learning primarily in terms of an accretion of knowledge while viewing information in terms of strengthening the adherence to values. Yet it is a fact that in our grasp of the problem both aspects are so closely interrelated, that in any event the issue of learning will be more readily resolved to the extent that we acknowledge the primacy of increased knowledge. The thirst for knowledge is now widely felt in Israeli society. It is stimulated by the awareness that added knowledge can improve the individual's economic position and social status and also by the desire for learning for its own sake. Though at times we tend to overlook this desire without adequate justification, the fact remains that tremendous developments in all fields of science have been exerting a constant impact on the individual in quest of knowledge and demanding ingress.

Now it is true that the distribution of this interest in science throughout the fabric of Israeli society is a disparate one. Those who already possess a large store of knowledge want to know still more, while those, regrettably, who possess less knowledge seem to think what they already know is quite sufficient. The problem confronting those concerned with learning in the Histadrut and in the State as a whole is, then, how to awaken this interest in science amongst all the classes of our people. It is needless to expand on the significance of this awakening both with regard to its practical value and the contribution it can make toward striking a new balance, on a higher level, of our spiritual assets. In this constant striving for strengthened individual and general spiritual resources in Israeli society, special attention must be paid to the wholesome value of the yearning to know, to have some share in the conquering advance of the sciences. However, to participate in this process it is not enough to master the new technologies. Such mastery can often amount to hardly more than becoming a cog, with no awareness whatsoever of its own position. Or, it can mean being crowded to the end of the table and enjoying the mere crumbs of a sumptuous repast; not to mention the employment risk entailed by the lack of adequate academic progress. Yet, in one form or another, whether through partial or total, passive or active integration with this new process, its spiritual implications are vast, no less so then the instrumental ones, hence the necessity of arousing the desire for knowledge in all segments of the population.

Under no circumstances can we allow ourselves to suggest that this is beyond the grasp of certain strata of the people. Histadrut people, in particular, dare not acquiesce in such statements. The experience of many teachers and lecturers testifies that the young people of all the newly arrived communities can be fired with a love of knowledge. The everlasting question is, how to teach, how to impart knowledge. Even older people are imbued with a thirst for knowledge when they are not actually overwhelmed by the worries of daily existence, and of that, too, there is astounding evidence available: among Moshav women, in voluntary study groups, through the experiences of the Working Women's Council and other women's organizations, the Moshav Movement's cultural department activities in conjunction with the Center, not to mention the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Government Information Center. Nor is it less true of the development towns, urban sections, and other population centers in Israel. No segment of Israel's public warrants despair. The greater the difficulty, the greater the challenge. Certainly, we must avail ourselves of the techniques that have been invented or developed in various countries. We should fully utilize the the accumulated experience of the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other international bodies. In Israel, too, we should develop new approaches and seek to establish many and varied institutions such as boarding schools for adolescents and adults, large-scale study vacations, general studies centers in the towns and villages, regional centers, and similar undertakings — imagination and good-will alone laying down the limits. *Kol Yisrael,* the State Broadcasting Service, has a most important function to discharge here, and it already has, in fact, performed meritorious service of great magnitude to this cause. The introduction of a general television service will put this powerful instrument to the test of worthiness in providing education for the masses, and to the extent that it meets it we can expect a fruitful dovetailing between this instrument and the conventional methods of instruction in classrooms, study circles, and similar frameworks.

The trade unions have the duty of grappling with the problems confronting the varied content of industrial occupations. They should find ways of combining study and learning with the day's work, immediately after the day's work, and during breaks in the work day. The nature of work itself in our day and the amount of leisure at workers' disposal demand additional education for working people in order to promote their material and spiritual well-being. This ties in with the requirements of vocational and general education which are, as already stated, two basic aspects of one and the same thing. There is no one agency that can handle this task alone. What is needed now is a genuine partnership between the Government, the Histadrut, secondary and higher educational bodies, as well as voluntary institutions, for the purpose of taking up the burden of learning in Israel with drive and with expectations of success.

Needless to add, this is but one facet of the problem. The question of ensuring that Israel's masses strike deep roots in the State of Israel is not only a material one. It is no less a spiritual problem, and one that will not be solved unless every effort is made to anchor these people firmly in their people's culture, its literature, and history.

Likewise, the identification of the worker with the toiling people of all nations is no automatic process. It, too, has to be studied and nurtured. It is in times of important social gains when the danger is greatest that such gains will be taken for granted. The worker should be cognizant of the endeavors that went into achieving these conquests. The history of the struggle for these advances, the evolution of the strivings for social justice and the concrete embodiments of the latter also represent a discipline that needs to be mastered. Hence, workers' education with everything that workers' education implies are imperative.

To summarize briefly: much is being done in the field of workers' education; much more needs to be done.

THE ARTS

Increased knowledge or information does not of itself satisfy men's spiritual needs. Most human beings thirst for the kind of immediate experience which art can offer. Any cultural program which sees man as a whole must therefore try to satisfy the need for artistic creation and experience. In Israel, this general approach is reinforced by a different consideration based on the emotional needs of the *immigrant* population. Art can help ease the transition from the old life to the new one, provided the traditional values brought by the immigrants inherent in the art and folklore are not summarily discarded but integrated with other elements for building a new spiritual whole. This, needless to say, is easier said than done. Yet this is the approach which must guide our work; hence the importance of preserving Diaspora folklore side by side with the search for new content and form.

On another level, there is the question of balance between creative activity and the mass enjoyment of artistic presentations. Since there is present in Israel, as elsewhere, the modern tendency to emphasize spectator art, it is all the more important to foster the active expression of popular talent to the utmost possible extent.

The Culture and Education Center maintains a number of special sections in the field of art: the Music, Folk Dance, Drama, and the Painting and Sculpture Sections.

Music

The Music Section concentrates particularly on training suitable people to take the lead in various musical activities such as choirs, orchestras, and choral groups. For this purpose, it holds annual training courses for choir leaders, conductors, and others, provides them with material, and is also responsible for a comprehensive program of musical publications. These consist of four series: a) the central Nissimov Memorial Music Library, including works of leading composers, anthologies of music for festivals, and other occasions; b) the "Miniature Music Library"; c) collections of Hebrew songs; d) scores for community singing.

This publication program is an enterprise of great value and it has encouraged musical composition in Israel while also helping spread a knowledge of Israeli music at home and abroad.

The Music Section arranges gatherings of workers' choirs and orchestras where the different groups hear one another perform. It has also helped in the formation of the Inter-Kibbutz Movement Orchestras (Senior and Junior), assisted in the establishment of central record libraries in various places, and helped workers' orchestras to obtain musical instruments, especially in some of the poorer centers needing special assistance. In general, the Center's Music Section tries to encourage popular musical activity of all kinds.

Folk Dances

The Folk Dance Section has been especially successful in securing the cooperation of practically all of the country's leading figures in this field. Folk dancing in our country is particularly associated with the labor movement, which has been largely responsible for its development as one of the characteristic forms of expression of modern Israel. Here, again, the Culture and Education Center has concentrated on the training of leaders and instructors. Its courses, held at various places throughout the country, provide composers and choreographers with a forum for contact with large numbers of dancers.

The celebration of festivals and holidays in a form combining traditional and modern themes is a question which engages all of the Center's sections. The Folk Dance Section has given particular attention to elaborating suitable programs for festivals.

During the fifties, the grand occasion in Israel folk-dancing was the national festival, frequently held under the open sky, at Kibbutz Dalia. Here, folk dancers from all over the country met, Arab and Druze teams mingling their own vigorous dances with those of the Yemenite Jews, the fervent Hassidic dances of East European Jewry, and the popular dances of modern Israel, themselves derived from various traditional Diaspora folk themes but developing a new, specifically Israeli character of their own. These festivals have had to be discontinued until such time as the technical and financial means will be available to cope with the tens of thousands of people who inevitably flood to view them from every corner of the country and from abroad as well; but they have remained a memorable experience for the thousands who crowded their final performances and for the many hundreds who actually participated in those events.

Drama

The Drama Section follows the same principle. It trains producers and others to lead amateur dramatic societies, but thus far it has been more successful in the rural areas than in the urban ones. Many of the most successful drama groups are to be found in individual Kibbutzim, while recently the Inter-Kibbutz Movement Theater, *Bimat Ha-Kibbutz,* has been able to claim outstanding successes with performances that even attracted considerable audiences in the country's larger towns. Besides the training courses, the Drama Section maintains a central theater library, publishes plays and sketches (both original Hebrew works and translations) and issues a quarterly as well as other material for use by amateur actors and producers. It also publishes suitable material for dramatic readings on Histadrut anniversaries and other festive occasions.

For a number of years, *Telem,* a mobile theater unit maintained jointly by the Center and the Jewish Agency, brought theater productions to outlying settlements and immigrant villages which would otherwise have had to forego the pleasure and benefit of dramatic fare.

Plastic Arts

The Painting and Sculpture Section seeks to encourage every talent in these arts. A school of painting and sculpture, with leading artists in charge, is now in existence as the result of the initiative of the Culture and Education Center, which continues to make annual grants towards its budget.

The Painting and Sculpture Section helps arrange exhibits of the works of Israeli and other artists, and from time to time it organizes seminars and courses. Some time ago, a new scheme — a week's sketching holiday for amateur artists — was launched. The Section maintains several mobile exhibits consisting of good reproductions, which circulate among the Kibbutzim and other rural centers. It also supplies Histadrut clubrooms and administrative institutions with reproduction and originals adorning their walls.

With all the varied instruments of instruction and entertainment, the question remains: how to ensure a uniformly high standard of quality. It is customary, for example, in many

Histadrut functions, to include an "artistic program" as one feature on an occasion of broader scope. On the other hand, under the Center's sponsorship, there are frequent programs devoted entirely to one or more of the performing arts. In the case of the former, and to some extent of the latter as well, many actors and artists have come to regard them as a reliable source of livelihood, with consequent pressure to continue. The Culture and Education Center, is fully aware that the level is often less than adequate. This is not a problem that can be solved by regulation. It is a question, on the one hand, of refined powers of discrimination by local functionaries, and — on the other hand — of cost factor. The positive approach, and this the Center endeavors to pursue, is through the publication of suitable material, the better training of local culture and entertainment officials, and by helping to organize programs of this kind through inter-sectional coordination within the Center. There has been evidence aplenty to prove that artistic excellence can and does have popular appeal.

In general, the voluminous folklore of the various Israeli communities, while offering rich opportunities, requires careful screening, selection and adaptation.

In utilizing the heritage of the past, we must not neglect to encourage the creativity of the present. Of its existence, there is tangible evidence, not least in the Kibbutzim, where particular individuals and groups have developed original forms of folk art and new patterns for the celebration of traditional occasions.

ACCOMMODATIONS: CENTERS, CLUBS, LIBRARIES

Cultural and Educational activity by the Histadrut demands, as does the activity of any social body, a wide range of instruments. Above all, it requires accommodations of its own. It is true indeed that such mass communications media as the press, paper-backs, radio and television are cancelling out this need in part, since in bringing the best — and the worst — of modern culture into the individual's home they now constitute a great advantage — and disadvantage. The advantage lies in the fact that today one can remain actively in touch with a broad scale of cultural activities without venturing out of one's home. The power acquired as a result by such activity is immeasurable. The disadvantage lies in the identical fact, namely, that such cultural activity, on being delivered into the home, loses the social flavor which is so positive an attribute of group meetings and serves as an important stimulant to intellectual interaction and spiritual gratification. The truth is that our cultural centers, clubrooms, and libraries are now faced with increasingly stiffer competition from these communications media. The outcome is not yet predictable, but present indications are that the mass media will prevail unless our cultural centers, clubs, and libraries can attain higher levels with such clear cut indispensable social advantages that people will return to them. There have been signs of an incipient development such as the latter throughout the world and in Israel too.

The Culture and Education Center's Division for Centers, Clubrooms, and Libraries has as its main tasks to encompass the entire scope of cultural activities in Histadrut clubrooms and to fashion these into appropriate frameworks for social encounters. It is responsible for planning and implementing a diversified pattern of activities at these centers with the object of increasing their weight as focal points of social and cultural activity. Similarly, it fosters the development of people's libraries and encourages members of the Histadrut to belong to them.

Culture Centers and Clubrooms

Through the Labour Councils alone, this division embraces more than 250 culture centers and clubrooms. However, in only a limited number of these clubrooms has it been able to carry out in practice any program of social activities that might complement the information, education, artistic and other services alluded to while at the same time providing them with a social atmosphere. The chief importance of such of these social activities as do take place (parties, informal programs, literary symposiums, quizes on Histadrut subjects, social games, hobby groups, community singing, programs of recorded music, etc.) is in the challenge they present to local talent's capacity to get things organized on their own, to elicit active cooperation from the local public, and especially in the opportunity they present for direct contact and social consolidation. Every accomplishment in this field enhances the center's or the clubroom's prestige and imposes upon the latter, in addition to its task of housing certain activities, that of providing a social meeting place in the course of daily scheduled events.

Expanding and diversifying cultural activities in the clubroom and the center both depend in no small measure on structural improvement of their premises and on adapting the latter to their function as well as on the budgetary security of the ramified activities conducted in them. Above all, competent management must be obtained through directors with the education and attachment to the movement that would provide the initiative for cultural and social activities and stimulate the formation of various core groups based on the clubroom and its activities.

Libraries

The other of the two spheres in which this division functions, libraries, is one in which the Culture and Education Center has conducted wide-branching activities for almost as long as the State of Israel has existed. At first, this library activity was carried out by a libraries division; more recently, it has been combined with the Culture Centers into one Division which regards this scheme of activity — the training of librarians and promotion of the people's library — as its foremost task.

In figures, this means 145 libraries in the cities, rural centers, one each in 260 Kibbutzim and Moshavim, and 150 in new immigrants' Moshavim, or a total of 555 libraries. The farm settlements alone account for 1,50,000 volumes, whereas in the libraries within the jurisdiction of urban and rural labor councils, the figure is approximately 500,000. It can be seen from this that the settlements, Kibbutzim and Moshavim have contributed their fair share and more in the acquisition of volumes with which to supply the needs of an avid reading public (this is particularly true of the Kibbutzim, in which personal libraries are necessarily limited for reasons of space and the restriction of cash allottments of pocket money to no more than a few score books at the most). The libraries sponsored by the Labor Councils, on the other hand, can at best be regarded as foundations upon which much will have to be built if there is to be any future for them at all. If, in fact, it is true that not a few of these libraries are inadequate both in the scope of their services, the number of volumes, and readers, it is equally true that the Histadrut library in any communities, and especially in new immigrant and many frontier settlements, is the sole extension of book culture to these remote places.

Together with the Labor Councils, the Culture and Education Center has been establishing these libraries for many years now. Part of their budgets are [illegible] to the acquisition of books and financing library maintenance. In collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Center has conducted drives with the aim of securing book donations for new libraries. In this way, 200 libraries were actually set up by the Center within the space of one decade. Yet it must be admitted that these book donations have not carried much weight when compared with the innumerable needs. As we have said, then, many of these libraries are only in their early formative stages and have not yet begun to function properly.

Training Librarians and Managers

To maintain and operate hundreds of libraries requires supervision and guidance, administratively as well as professionally, and this has been one of the most important functions of the libraries division in the past and of the Culture Centers and Libraries Division now.

Although training librarians continues to be one of the most comprehensive and fruitful activities, the scope of the training given at these courses is not a very broad one, and not infrequently the professional competence of the individual librarian is based rather on long years of experience on the job than on the formal acquisition of wide-ranging proficiency. Such experience, however, is not to be disparaged, neither for its intrinsic value nor for the devotion to the task which its reflects. The Culture and Education Center sees in these "grass root" librarians nothing less than what they are intended to and should be: the carriers of culture and education. In this field, the Histadrut has shaped the image of a "people's librarian" just as it has fashioned the people's library itself and maintains it almost exclusively with its own resources, just as it maintains its school for people's libraries. The task before it now is to expand the elementary and supplementary training of librarians, particularly amongst the immigrant settlement centers.

It is worth mentioning in this context that in addition to training and counselling librarians, this division publishes books, and also a periodical under the title *Kuntress Bibliographi* (Bibliographical Notebook).

The Histadrut libraries themselves, while understandably devoting due attention to labor literature and the cultivation of the reading habit amongst working people, are not nevertheless specialized libraries. All of them are people's libraries in the full sense of the word and it is precisely in their being such that their merit lies. And it is precisely because of this that we must view with the gravest anxiety the fact that (in contrast with a number of large libraries containing tens of thousands of volumes and readers) there are small ones which are hard put to it to meet contemporary requirements. Every effort and means will therefore have to be exerted to enable the latter to raise their standards and serve their purpose effectively in the cultural sphere.

PROBLEMS AWAITING SOLUTION: A SUMMARY

The following problems, then, await solution in the aforementioned fields:

a. *The local Histadrut Culture Center, what it should be and what the possibilities are to make it so.* In their present form — with few exceptions — these centers are losing out to the mass communications media. This situation is growing more difficult in view of the increase in similar institutions founded by other agencies, primarily municipal bodies, which quite frequently enjoy the support of various "patrons." The primary question is one of means. For a Histadrut Culture Center to hold its own against these two rivals, it must be set up from the very beginning in accordance with the requirements of modern community center technology and properly equipped to conduct its activities by a high standard. The situation, unfortunately, is such that often while the means are available for erecting the center more or less at the required standard, resources are lacking for its smooth functioning. There are quite a number of Labor Councils which have acquired fine structures for their cultural activities but have not been able to equip them properly, and as a result these buildings are partly or totally unexploited for their original purpose. Recently, the proposal was brought forward to establish "comprehensive" cultural centers in a number of localities, in other words — centers ministering to the needs of several Histadrut levels and circles: youth, adults, women, senior citizens, and the like. Such centers would also sponsor sports and athletic activities through the Histadrut's *Ha-Poel Sport Organiztion.* They would have swimming pools and other recreational installations for attracting attendance. Obviously, all such proposals are as valuable as the means that will be forthcoming to implement them *and* subsequently to ensure proper maintenance. Without an adequate maintenance budget, all efforts to erect such buildings are meaningless. And let it be noted: *means also implies proper staffing.* We can no longer permit ourselves to harbor the illusion that the direction of cultural affairs is a marginal issue which may be resolved by entrusting it to people of marginal ability. It is precisely such marginality in personnel that has been seriously impairing the standard of our cultural activities. The Culture and Education Center's Clubroom, Library, and Culture Centers Division has made and continues to make innumerable efforts to train clubroom personnel. So far it has been unable to train culture center directors and it is doubtful whether it will be able to while the demand is inadequate. Such directorship requires theoretical and applied knowledge as well as the faculty of establishing contact with people and prevailing upon them to volunteer for various tasks and assist in forming groups among any such center's visitors. If the Histadrut's long range program calls for establishing a chain of such culture centers in order to preserve its social-cultural status in the large population centers, then without further delay it must consider the training of a nucleus group of culture directors, with the unequivocal understanding that such training and a guarantee of subsequent employment are an indispensable condition to the problem's solution.

b. *Clubrooms: these represent no less a problem along with that of major culture centers.* The question here is one of the more modest premises set up in outlying quarters and in housing projects, wherever Histadrut members reside. Vitally important though it too is for the Histadrut, the sad truth is that no solution has been found to date. While any number of clubroom premises have been opened, their operation has left much to be desired. With due appreciation for the good intentions of the people in charge, it must be acknowledged that few of them have truly displayed the competence needed. Assuming, as we must, that a Histadrut clubroom cannot be a mere structure thrown open for momentary needs such as an occasional lecture or training session, with — at best — a handful of newspapers and periodicals thrown in, then the situation as in the larger center, calls for initiative in organizing a continuous round of activities to provide the background for social intercourse which will in turn attract more people. The personnel problem is compounded by its budgetary aspect, since any employment at such a clubroom could only be on a part-time basis. There has been a tendency within the Histadrut to develop the post of neighborhood officers, who would also be officially in charge of the clubrooms. At first glance, this is plausible enough, especially in view of the serious budgetary considerations. However, one cannot avoid questioning whether a person who is quite competent to direct general Histadrut activities in any given neighborhood is necessarily the most suitable for directing clubroom activities.

The question also arises of fixing the correct proportions between investments in centrally located culture centers at the hub of the larger towns and cities and investments in as many as possible clubrooms in local neighborhoods and housing schemes.

The foregoing remarks have dealt with urban and village population centers. By contrast, we must in all fairness pay tribute to the alertness displayed in the Histadrut's farm settlements, and we refer mainly to the Kibbutzim. The latter, in recent years, have developed their clubrooms into an enterprise of outstanding merit.

c. *The Histadrut sponsored library constitutes an equally grave question.* It is a fact that these libraries can boast of an eminent position in the chronicle of the Israel labor movement's and — for that matter — the entire country's cultural activity. A wide network of Histadrut libraries, already described above, does exist, and our aim is not to leave a single Histadrut community without a library. We have been able to achieve this aim, though in varying degrees, and perhaps there are not very many other countries in the world with so relatively many rural libraries. Yet the problem of the Histadrut sponsored library has become increasingly more urgent for the two reasons already indicated: competition from extraneous, official and unofficial, quarters. In itself, such competition, insofar as it is a question of books of positive value, is constructive and welcome, for it proves that books are becoming more and more of a household feature in Israel. Yet here, too, one must avoid optical illusions or exaggerations in one direction or another. There are still too many homes in which books, Hebrew or otherwise, are conspicuous by their absence, and this represents a serious, not to say tragic, departure from the tradition that used to prevail in all Jewish homes of just a few generations ago. Then, at least a copy of the Pentateuch (the *Torah*), a *Siddur* and a *Mahzor* (the daily and Holiday Prayer Book) could be found. In recent years this had not been uniformly true in Israel. If there has been an improvement of late, one may thank the children of these homes for that.

Books in Hebrew are cheaper now than they were. The Popular Library Series of the Histadrut's *Am Oved* Publishing

House has done much introducing of excellent original and translated works in Hebrew into thousands of homes in scores of thousands of copies. *Am Oved's* activity looms all the more important in view of the fact that the pulp magazine industry has become a serious rival for the claims of all too many readers.

In other words, this vast increase in the total number of books printed and the consequent ease of purchase for the average individual has exposed the public library to a severe test: rather than making it superfluous, it has placed new demands upon it. It must be competent to acquire books which do not enjoy a wide market, and it must equip itself with the best works extent in the field of science, children's, young people's, and adult literature. It must develop the ability to attract the public by appropriate book exhibits, reading soirees, recordings, and similar methods. In brief, the public library must improve in efficiency and in quality. This, naturally, applies to the Histadrut libraries as well. It, however, is subjected to an additional test: Israel's local authorities, with the spirited support of the Ministry of Education and Culture, have begun to display initiative in this field, opening or developing existing libraries at a high standard of librarianship. Hence, the Histadrut library, too, older and more cumbersome, must adjust itself to basic changes and make more earnest efforts to meet this competition — *if* the matter is to be left to the trial of competition.

Indeed, from time to time it has been proposed, as an alternative, that the Histadrut sponsored library should step down, and precedents have even been cited in other countries such as Sweden, where labor movement libraries have been in the process of transfer to the jurisdiction of the local government authorities. What cannot be overlooked, however, is that the labor movement's task in Israel is far from complete. Ensuring that huge numbers of people without any previous experience or tradition within a working class shall receive the proper spiritual and intellectual guidance is not a function that can or should be left to the necessarily uncommitted local arms of government. Cooperation, or mergers on a equitable basis, is another matter, and the Histadrut has, in fact, been tackling the twofold task of, on the one hand, strengthening its library system, and, on the other, shaping a policy of judicious cooperation with the central government and the local authorities in drawing up the country's library network.

Museums

A unique instrument for fostering a knowledge of Israel and its past are the small but impressive collections museums to be found in the labor settlements (mainly in the Kibbutzim), frequently as part of their culture centers. Many of them are distinguished by the individual nature and quality of their activity. Some among them have achieved nation-wide repute.

There are ninety such museums and collections, most of them associated with the Israeli Study Circles Movement. The majority of them are small collections, well organized and with tastefully arranged exhibits. The remainder await scientific treatment, sorting, and classification.

A goodly part of these collections are devoted to relics of the past, not a few of the latter dating back to the Stone Age. A not inconsiderable portion is on exhibition in well ordered display cases in culture centers, while others have benefitted by halls or even buildings of their own and may be considered museums by any standard. Among the latter, some contain all branches connected with a knowledge of the country, some are mixed, containing both art and historical displays, while one, at least, Kibbutz Hazorea's *Bet-Wilfried*, has one wing devoted to the country's past as part of a general, constantly changing exhibit of the arts.

The work in these institutions is carried on by volunteers, members of the Study Circles, who engage systematically in surveys of their immediate neighborhoods. In many localities, these people have to their credit scientifically significant achievements. Several years ago, the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center established a special fund for the rural museums located at Kibbutzim, and one of its functions is to aid novice collectors in arranging first exhibits of their finds.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY

It has been generally assumed that cultural activity involves a good measure of unrewarding voluntary work. In all fairness, this assumption should be modified. Any kind of cultural activity is rewarding, as much for those who impart as for the recipients. And if this is true under normal circumstances, how much the more so does it apply to the integrating of new arrivals in the country, to imparting education to the multitude. What we have reference to, specifically, is the absence of *material* remuneration as distinguished from the purely spiritual compensation. It would not be correct to allege that voluntary activity is encouraged in order to save money. The fact is that very often voluntary cultural activity involves large outlays indeed, yet nevertheless it is invaluable, because of its vast importance as a socially integrative factor, in bridging the gaps between the various groups, and also as one that elevates the volunteer himself and along with him the community in which he works. Hardly less important is the fact that voluntary cultural activity serves to extricate many members from a feeling of indifference and passivity with regard to the Histadrut and the State. Hence, the great importance attached by the Center, and other Histadrut agencies, particulary the Working Women's Council, to voluntary cultural activity.

The Center has at all times persistently demanded of Histadrut personnel, staff, and line, that they contribute of their time and energy to expounding the affairs of the State and the Histadrut. Organizationally, though, it has developed two arms for the encouragement of voluntary activity. These two arms are directed mainly towards the teaching of Hebrew and the eradication of illiteracy, on the one hand, and to social and cultural activity among new arrivals, on the other. Both arms were recently formed into one agency with the establishment of a volunteers' organization for social and cultural activities. This organization has a base in men and women of good will and is under the guidance of a special department of the Culture and Education Center. The latter cooperates with the Histadrut's Working Women's Council, and to the Council's credit it should be remarked that at all times it has been able to enlist the services of a sizeable number of women members who devote a good deal of their time and strength to voluntary tasks of a cultural and social nature.

Holidays, Rests — and Studies

In Israel, too, the problem of leisure time is becoming an increasingly central one for individual and group alike. Naturally, its three main aspects are determined by the calendar: there is the question of after-work leisure, the Sabbath and holidays, and, of course, the annual vacation. Of particular concern to us is the question of leisure during vacation. The Culture and Education Center has devoted special attention to this in recent years in view of the fact that paid vacations are now guaranteed to all of the country's organized workers, in other words, to the vast majority of the working force. *Kupat Holim* (the

Histadrut Medical organization), individual Kibbutzim, and the various Kibbutz movements have established comfortable, in many cases luxurious, rest homes, guest houses, and vacation centers. On the other hand, rising standards of living, broadened horizons, and popular fares, have brought foreign travel within the reach of not a few breadwinners, young and not so young, in those income brackets which but a few years dared not hope for such opportunities. The task, then, has been to help make a vacation spent at a Histadrut vacation resort in Israel worth while, especially for those who — for one reason or another, and they do remain the majority — elect to "see Israel first."

The matter is complex and delicate, for it is not so much a matter of forcing "cultural" programs on people who may have their own ideas about the best way to use their leisure, (from cards to table-tennis), as of making culturally valuable recreation tactfully, even subtly, but persuasively available through vsiting artists and entertainers, interesting lecturers, choice films, or organized one-day tours to sites of interest in the vicinity. Cooperation between the Center, Kupat-Holim, and the Kibbutz Guest Homes in organizing balanced programs for guests has yielded promising results. As in other fields, though, the perennial problem of competent staff casts its shadow. The absence or presence of a capable organizer of social and cultural events at a vacation resort can spell the difference between a wholesome social, culturally stimulating atmosphere binding all guests together, and the casual anarchy of an ordinary resort hotel or *pension*. A significant factor to dwell upon is the need — and the possibility — of not relying exclusively on "imported" professional talent but of bringing to light and activating the diverse abilities that are almost invariably present among the scores or hundreds of vacationers at a particular resort. Much depends on the counsellor in charge of entertainment and recreation, whether he has the discerning eye, the personality, and eventually the experience required to uncover and stimulate such talent to cooperate.

In connection with this, it would be instructive to note that a new venture launched some years ago has yielded promising results. These are the "study vacations," which combine excellent *pension* conditions in delightful surroundings with the systematic study, for a period ranging from a week to a month, of specific subjects. The first such attempt was successfully made on the old Hebrew University Campus on Mt. Scopus, as long ago as the 1940's. It has subsequently been continued at the

University's Bet-Sprintzak, at the Haifa Technion, and in other parts of the country on a smaller scale. By now, many thousands have availed themselves of this opportunity to combine a summer holiday with the acquisition of new or supplementary knowledge. At the Hebrew University, the emphasis is primarily on the study aspect. At the Haifa Technion, on the contrary, much endeavor has been devoted by the school's administration to convert student quarters there into an ideal rest center, with the result that these grounds are now capable of accommodating large numbers of vacationers during any one season. Undoubtedly, given the effort and the resources, this can provide an important precedent for other rest centers throughout the country (the vast majority of which now minister to working people of all ages and both sexes) and thereby convert these annual holidays into important instruments for the dissemination of culture and education.

EDUCATION

The word education has one connotation when one speaks of adults. Primarily it relates to the imparting of knowledge, training, enlightenment. Education in its most widely and commonly understood sense concerns children, many or most of whom are tomorrow's workers. It was quite natural then for the Histadrut, from its very beginnings as the comprehensive organization of the country's workers, to devote a significant proportion of its material and spiritual resources to the education of children and adolescents. The fine network of elementary and secondary schools built up, developed and maintained by the Histadrut throughout most of the Mandatory period and right on past the founding of the State of Israel represented one of its most splendid and cherished assets and in a sense epitomized the trailblazing character of the country's organized labor movement.

In 1953, when the State Education Bill became a law, the entire Histadrut network of elementary and secondary schools came directly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Therefore, the Culture and Education Center retained the important tasks of conducting pedagogical activities for teachers and parents and carrying on educational work in the community as a whole. Within the Center, these activities are performed by the Education Department. For many years, the Department's educational activity was reflected in its outstanding pedagogical

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monthly. *Urim* ("Light"). Today, the Department publishes the country's only periodical devoted to the education of parents, the monthly *Urim Le-Horim*. Likewise, the Center maintains a publishing house for pedagogical literature, text-books in various fields, and a Pedagogical Museum. In the community at large, the Center encourages the founding of parents' committees, the establishing of special schools for parents in cooperation with other agencies — a matter of peculiar significance in an immigration-absorbing country such as Israel has been, in the organization of parents' circles, and the fostering of activities among students.

At this point it should be remarked that the Culture and Education Center is not alone in all that is being done by the Histadrut in the sphere of education. Two other arms of the Histadrut engaged in educational activity merit attention: the Vocational Training Department and the Women Workers' Council. It has been the Center's task to integrate all these activities, and this it has accomplished by putting into operation a "Histadrut Education Authority" in accordance with the Resolutions of the Tenth Convention of the Histadrut.

Higher Learning

In 1964, the Histadrut Department for Higher Learning was established in response to a growing need for the scientific training of competent cadres for service in the Histadrut and its manifold undertakings. While it is true that Israel's institutions of higher learning annually turn out sizable groups of B.A.'s who enter the employment market, some of them finding employment within the Histadrut complex, this Department set as its primary target the training of young people in what might be comprehensively termed *labor studies*. What it actually aspires to is to inculcate large numbers of such people — without violating the postulates of objective truth — with the social aspirations of the Histadrut. Guided by these considerations, this Department, in joint action with the University of Tel-Aviv, established a Labor Studies Institute which began to function as a course within the Social Science Department in 1965. The program now calls for the establishment of an Israel and general labor movement research wing.

Vocational Training — the Amal *Network*

Another undertaking which merits attention is the Histadrut Vocational Training Department's *Amal* Network which, by the end of 1966, included thirty vocational schools. Of these, seventeen were vocational secondary schools, ten were guided apprenticeship schools, and three were industrial schools. The total enrollment in these schools was 6,700, while the staff, consisting mainly of teachers and consellors, numbered 600.

The importance of training labor reserves is self-evident. It aims to endow both the new arrival and young people growing up in the country with vocations that will enable them to be both self-supporting and of service to the State. It provides skilled manpower to industry both as replacements and extension of the labor force. Hence, emphasis is placed on the constant expansion and development of vocational training instituons throughout the country. The government ministeries concerned, as well as public and Histadrut agencies, have joined forces to carry out this task. Plans, recently published, call for doubling the number of pupils enrolled in vocational training institutions by 1970.

As in so many other fields, the Histadrut was among the first to deal with vocational training for young people about to join the work force in industry and the crafts. As far back as 1929, it established educational workshops for working youth in Tel-Aviv. Before long, these became the Max Pine Memorial Trade School. Since then, the Histadrut has continuously expanded and developed its vocational training institutions, although the rate of industrial development and population growth and dispersal have, at times, prevented it from keeping pace with pressing needs.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The Histadrut is simultaneously structured on a geographical and occupational basis. This unique pattern of organization persistently raises the question as to the most appropriate nucleus for its cultural and educational activity. The question is particularly pressing in the towns and villages, where the occupational aspect of Histadrut organization is foremost. With the increase of occupational diversification — an invetable concomittant of the country's development — the processes of vocational exclusivity and differentiation have become intensified to a point at which they tend to overshadow the sense of affiliation with the general body, whether the latter means the Histadrut as such or one of its territorial sub-organizations such as the Labor Councils. The cultural problem confronting the trade unions, then, is how to make the most of such occupational differentation without undermining the sense of obligation to the general body. Obviously, occupational differentiation as such does signify a cultural and educational achievement to the extent that it fosters loyalty to one's vocation, the desire to persevere and advance in it. It becomes a negative factor when such sentiments transcend their bounds and produce the type of narrow trade-unionist outlook that leads to segregation from the needs of the broader community and a consequent breakdown of the latter's authority. The concept of communal authority, fundamental to the structure of the Histadrut as a comprehensive voluntary organization, would, in such an event, become void of all content. Hence, the Histadrut trade union is confronted with a weighty educational and cultural problem that focuses on two cardinal points: it must foster devotion to the trade union cell, with all that this implies, yet at the same time ensure that such activity will dovetail into those other activities designed to promote loyalty to the broader framework.

This view of the problem predicates a number of tasks:

1. The place of employment must become the scene of cultural and educational activity.
2. The shop committee's capacity for cultural activity must be increased on a clearly defined basis of duties and projects
3. Continuous advanced vocational training must be ensured.
4. Trade union cells must link up with broader patterns of cultural and educational activity within the framework of the Labor Council or regional and national frameworks.

That the place of work should and can become a most important base of cultural and educational activity has actually been attested to by successful ventures along these lines in a number of important plants. At some of them, clubrooms and libraries have been set up. seminar days and discussion groups periodically held, the schooling problems of workers' children looked after, energetic steps taken to eliminate illiteracy from workers' ranks, study and supplementary training circles conducted, — in short, important initiatives taken, persevered in and implemented.

The difficulties arise when places of employment with potentialities for developing such activities fail to do so. Much depends on the initiative of individuals or shop committees. It would appear that the time has come to premise *all* shop committee activity proper on an up-to-date and detailed set of rules and so too in equal measure *cultural* and *educational* activities under the auspices of shop committees. The Histadrut's Trade Union Department and the Culture and Education Center have jointly begun to draw up such a set of rules. The decisive question, however, is not only the formulation of rules but acknowledging the authority deriving from them. And this, in turn, involves encouragement of the cultural capacities of the shop committees. Obviously, each committee has its own level of capacity, so that without exaggeration it may be said that the entire issue is of vital importance to the future of the Histadrut.

Supplementary vocational training on a permanent basis occupies, as we have said, an important position on the scale of educational and cultural tasks devolving upon the trade unions. Within the Trade Union Department, this function is discharged by the Vocational Training (Basic and Suplementary) Division. It is noteworthy that the local and national trade unions have been devoting a great deal of attention to the matter, and that the Government of Israel has rendered considerable assistance.

The Trade Union Department also regards the local trade union organizations as a most appropriate medium for the training of cadres and expounding basic trade union policy as well as the position on current issues. To that end, it maintains a joint action committee with the Culture and Education Center.

A similar position is taken by those trade unions that are large enough to have their own autonomous national organizations,* even though in practice there are, of course, differences in the degree of implementation which reflect the varying importance which they attach to work in the cultural sphere. On the whole, the trend seems to be towards increased evaluation of the importance of this work at all levels of union organization. The Israel Building Workers' Union merits particular mention, as do also the Clerical Workers' Union, the Printing Workers' Union, the Agricultural Laborers' Union, and the

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* The size and scope of an industry or employment sector in Israel determine whether it will be a desk in the Trade Union Department or an autonomous country-wide trade union with its own elected officers. In either case, or in intermediate formations, the Histadrut is the overall framework and final authority through its Executive Bureau. — Ed.

Teachers' Union. Each of these has forged its own instruments, and they are especially deserving of praise for their concern about raising the vocational level of their members. The Clerical Workers' Union, for example, has established a complete network of schools at various standard levels. The Agricultural Laborers' Union, one of the oldest in the country with many achievements to its credit, maintains an excellent university level school of agriculture for short and intermediate length courses as well as a central agricultural library, while its subsidiary Agricultural Wage Workers' Union has founded an Agricultural Workers' House integrated as an institution of learning with the Culture and Education Center's system of labor studies institutions. The Printing Workers' Union, though numerically a small organization, has even displayed its ability in founding a Museum of the Graphic Arts at Safed in Upper Galilee. The Union of Academically Qualified Employees (a term designating employees with university degrees) at all times cooperates with the Center in conducting short seminars for its members. The Teachers' Union, cooperating with the Center, maintains a wide-branched system of post-graduate studies for its members in which an important role is played by the Teachers' College maintained jointly with the Jerusalem Hebrew University. The initiative for the founding of this school originated with the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center.

MUTUAL AID INSTITUTIONS: CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

The widely ramified system of Histadrut mutual aid institutions, by its very nature, creates broad opportunities for instructive cultural contact with the Histadrut population requiring these services. The fact that services based on the principle of mutual aid are being rendered is charged with a tremendous potential for education towards and the ennoblement of cultural values. The sheer matter of living comes to the fore here. The cordial reception, the warm response, are possibly more decisive here than in other spheres; for the welfare of suffering people in search of aid and healing is the issue involved. Above all, this applies to the Histadrut's Medical Organization, *Kupat Holim,* which maintains the most intimate contact with the entire Histadrut membership and their families. Without exaggeration, it may be said that Kupat Holim is not least among the objective criteria by which Histadrut members determine their attitude towards the organization. Medical and psychiatric therapy *per se* contain elements of education just as any education worthy of the name contains therapeutic elements at every one of its stages. The doctors, the nurses, the entire Kupat Holim personnel are cultural and educational workers in the profoundest sense. Indeed, an appropriate caption for this chapter could well have been, "The Histadrut's Mutual Aid Functions as Cultural and Educational Activity." A deeper examination would, without doubt, reveal the educational possibilities latent in every form of mutual aid *as well as the risk of educational damage where such activity is not properly carried out.*

One of the Histadrut General Executive Committee's departments is the Mutual Aid and Social Insurance Department. The latter conducts its own highly important information service through the regular publication of a series of booklets entitled *Workers Ask Questions* and dealing with such matters as the National Insurance Scheme, Kupat Holim, the Pension Funds, and similar items. In the main, however, this activity is performed by the institutions in question themselves.

Kupat Holim

The Kupat Holim Center's information service reaches out in several directions. It embraces personnel, membership, and circles at home and abroad with which Kupat Holim maintains permanent connections. It relates to every event at all levels of the work and development of this medical organization's institutions. Its medical information service is designed for the guidance of its massive membership, as well as of recent arrivals, in health methods.

Oral information is dispensed in two ways: by on-the-spot lectures and through radio broadcasts.

The on-the-spot lectures deal with hygienical matters and popular medicine. Teams of doctors with a command of several languages visit immigrant communities in the rural development centers, Kibbutzim, Moshavim, and factories, and give talks on health questions. These lectures have elicited wide response, especially in new immigrant's communities, and they have made an important contribution to the dissemination of standards of cleanliness and hygiene. Forty such lectures are given every month.

As for radio talks, Kol Yisrael, the State Broadcasting Service, has responded generously to the Kupat Holim Information Service's request for the broadcasting of all important Kupat

Holim events either in *reportages* prepared on the spot or through interviews with representatives of this institution on the Radio News Reel and other feature programs, not to mention, the regular news broadcasts. In addition to all this, of course, the "Your Health" program broadcasts lectures on hygiene and health, and once every month has as guest speaker a Kupat Holim doctor talking on an appropriate subject.

Kupat Holim's printed information service avails itself of press conferences and guided tours for members of the "Fourth Estate" as well as periodical and special publications of its own.

Among the periodicals, the monthly *Eitanim* ("Well-being") reaches 30,000 addresses and is devoted to a popular presentation of topics concerned with health and hygiene. The bi-monthly *Dapim Refuiim* ("Medical Pages") is a scientific journal intended for members of the medical profession. It enjoys an excellent reputation for its high standard and has earned the appreciation of doctors in Israel and abroad. Each of its issues runs to 4,500 copies.

Mish'an

Mish'an ("Support") is the name of a Histadrut mutual aid agency which exerts a tremendously important social-educational influence. Its task is to extend aid and support to those in the Histadrut who for reasons or circumstances beyond their individual control are unable to look after themselves. Mish'an maintains senior citizens' homes for retired Histadrut members, clubrooms for the aged, and nurseries.

The problem of adequate care for aged pensioners has become increasingly graver with the growth of this class of people among Histadrut members in particular and in the population generally. The Culture and Education Center, together with the Histadrut General Executive's Pension Department and the Pensioners' Association itself, have been searching for a constructive solution to this problem. While much use has been made in this of the new science of gerontology, there is no ignoring the fact that the most effective methods have yet to be discovered. Nor have the means been found whereby to bring spiritual and social succor to those who have reached an age everybody aspires to but which few seem able to change into a time of life in which the blessings exceed the tribulations. Exploratory activities must therefore be conducted apace with the practical activities which reach into the field of occupational therapy, on the one hand, and a wide range of socio-cultural activities from handicraft groups to literary and philosophical discussion groups, on the other.

CULTURE IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The fundamental principles of the *cooperative movement* have a significant bearing on the cultural and educational sphere. Their implementation is hardly possible without a correspondingly high level of alertness to cultural and educational values. As a matter of fact, it would be impossible to accuse Israel's agricultural settlements and its urban cooperative movement of having neglected this sphere throughout their historical development However, this miracle of social entrenchment is not necessarily a recurring one, and the historical circumstances that not only facilitated but in many instances actually militated in that direction no longer exist.

There has been a growing awareness that today cooperative undertakings throughout the country require unceasing endeavor along cultural and educational lines. We shall deal further on with these activities in the rural settlements. Here we shall dwell on their practical aspects within the urban sector of the cooperative movement.

The acknowledgement by individual cooperative enterprises as well as by cooperative unions and centers of the importance of cultural and educational work has moved them at regular intervals to launch various undertakings which have included seminars held jointly with the Culture and Education Center and the Labor Studies College. At the same time, individual cooperatives have conducted such activities on a local, regional, or national basis. One of the duties of the newly established Cooperatives Division of the *Hevrat Ovdim* (The Labor Economy) is the fostering of education for cooperation both among young people and adults. The need for giving suitable training in cooperation was the reason for joint initiative on the part of the Histadrut, the Ministry of Labor and the various cooperative unions in establishing The School of Cooperation.

This school has several extensions. The principal one is the Advanced Course in Cooperation given at the Histadrut's Tel-Aviv Labor Studies College as part of the annual seminars on the economy, society, and cooperation held there under the joint auspices of the Hevrat Ovdim, the Labor Studies College itself, and the Culture and Education Center.

In addition to the activities of the School of Cooperation, the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center and Cooperation Center regard it as their duty to foster a knowledge and awareness of cooperation in numerous other ways. Particularly noteworthy are the short seminars given for members of the *Egged* and *Dan* transport cooperatives. Several thousand members of these cooperatives have already attended these courses, which for the most part are conducted on the premises of the Labor Studies College in Tel-Aviv.

Reserves

The training of *reserve* forces for eventual affiliation with the production and service branches of the cooperative movement is also a motivating factor behind the multi-faceted collaboration between the Cooperative Center's Culture Department and the Culture and Education Center. The activity focuses mainly on the Working and Learning Youth Organization (*Histadrut Ha-Noar Ha-Oved Ve-Halomed*) and is under the direct supervision of the Centers of the two organizations. It includes social and cooperative training for those of the youth organization's members who belong to its vocational branches; the explanation of what cooperation means in the training and studies institutions for working youth; the organization of core groups for cooperative-industrial NAHAL * groups, and appropriate attention during their period of military service; the social and economic integration of NAHALites in the cooperative movement on discharge from the service. At all stages, within all the frameworks of these activities, the help and cooperation of the Culture and Education Center are most essential, and this is extended through all the facilities at its disposal: mobile exhibitions, documentary films, consumer training, the publication of books, pamphlets, and types of printed material.

As for book publishing, the first step taken was the preparation of a textbook on cooperative studies for secondary school seniors by a joint committee of the Cooperation Center, the Culture and Education Center, and the Government Department for Cooperative Societies. This book was published by the Center's publishing agency, "Culture and Education."

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* NAHAL — Hebrew abbreviation for "Combattant Pioneer Youth", a separate formation of the Israel Defense Forces for members of the Kibbutz and Moshav Oriented Youth movements. — Ed.

In fact, first steps have been taken to introduce the teaching of cooperation in the school system. In this, too, it has been a matter of collaboration between the Cooperation Center and the Culture and Education Center's Education Authority. Among other things, a curriculum of instruction in the history of the Jewish labor movement has been drawn up for the secondary schools. On the other hand, efforts made to introduce the teaching of cooperation into the secondary schools resulted in an agreement to that effect after protracted negotiations between the Government's Cooperative Societies Department, the Ministry of Education, and the Cooperation Center.

RELIGIOUS NEEDS

The Histadrut is a secular organization but it is not and should not be impervious to the fact that it includes observant people among its membership. Any discussion of this subject requires that a profound distinction be made between religious needs within the Histadrut and the *cultural needs* of its religious members. The Histadrut is obliged to devote attention to helping its religious members to satisfy their religious wants. To that end it established a special department within the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee under the chairmanship of Rabbi Yehuda Zvi Brandwein. This division had previously functioned for some time within the framework of the Culture and Education Center.

The ideas governing the activities of this department were set forth in an article entitled "Religion, The People, and the Histadrut," which saw light in a 1961 booklet on Jewish holidays published by the Culture and Education Center. In this article, Rabbi Brandwein dwelled on the central importance of loving one's fellow man from a religious point of view. The single precept, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,* subsumes all the other precepts, both those governing the individual's relation to God and those governing relations between one human being and another. It is in the fostering of this act of piety that the Rabbi sees the Histadrut's mission. With the establishment of the State of Israel and the attendant need to create a new national education, the importance of *Loving thy Neighbor as thyself* became even more imperative. It is the Rabbi's view that the Department for the Satisfying of Religious Needs is called upon to make its contribution through discharging the tasks consequent upon this conviction.

EDUCATION FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN

There is no need to dwell at length on the immense importance of education in our times for the working man. From Israel's earliest days as a sovereign State, it has had a law making free education compulsory up to the age of 14. The proportion of boys and girls receiving secondary education free or at greatly reduced fees has been growing constantly, and the aim is to achieve legislation making secondary education, too, compulsory by raising the age limit from 14 to 16 at least. Quite stormy debates have been going on as to the actual limits that can be fixed for free compulsory secondary education. The Histadrut has regarded itself in duty bound to establish tuition funds and to encourage secondary and university level education for workers' children. These funds are administered by special committees which in doing so are carrying out an honorable obligation of assistance and encouragement.

Research and Study Grants.

The Histadrut has also seen it as its duty to set up a fund for the encouragement of research projects by young researchers or to enable them to undertake post-graduate studies. A special committee, composed of scientists and public leaders has ensured fair allocations of grants and scholarships. Needless to add, not a little gratification has derived from the awareness that quite a number of doctor's theses submitted have been based on researches financed by the Histadrut.

Seventeen Year Olds.

On the other hand, the Histadrut has felt itself obligated to inaugurate a special type of cultural activity for seventeen year olds, in other words — for young people who have another year to go before they are eligible for membership in the Histadrut. This, of course, is in addition to the large-scale educational activity conducted by the Organization of Working and Learning Youth and those other youth movements which are ideologically associated with the Histadrut. We have not included any survey of the latter within the present work because they merit a separate study. What should be emphasized here is that activity among young people on the threshold of adulthood is viewed by the Histadrut as a unique necessity.* Yet it cannot be denied that notwithstanding the numerous activities carried on in this field by a special committee, in which the Culture and Education Center, the Organization Department, and other Histadrut agencies are represented, there has been no serious breakthrough to the minds and hearts of working adolescents. This is obviously an age at which not a few spiritual crises occur, and premature affiliation by a young person with the Histadrut might easily become a trivial matter involving no serious intellectually motivated decision. Searching out the proper approach to the youth is one of the more serious challenges confronting the Histadrut if it is not to remain solely a trade union organization in the narrow sense of the word even though it were exemplarily to implement all the commitments of trade unionism as such.

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* In Israel, 18 year olds are required to enlist for miiltary service and at this age also acquire the right to vote. — Ed.

CULTURAL ACTIVITY AMONG ARAB MEMBERS OF THE HISTADRUT

The Arab Department of the Histadrut's Executive Committee is in charge of the cultural and educational activities conducted amongst the Arab members of the Histadrut. In this, it receives all possible assistance from the Culture and Education Center. This has become increasingly more necessary, even urgent, in view of the accelerating rate of the absorption and integration of Arab workers in the Histadrut.

Israel's Arab population is subjected to the constant pressure of the hostile propaganda emanating from the neighboring countries. Education towards good citizenship and loyal Histadrut membership amongst the country's Arab inhabitants is therefore a difficult, delicate and extremely responsible task. The problem is not only one of overcoming hostile propaganda. It is principally one of wholesome tutoring toward the fundamental values of the State and the Histadrut.

There can be no ignoring the need for discovering new and more efficient means of communication. Methods found to be adequate for the Jewish population would have to be constantly and thoroughly scrutinized. Since identification in this case is not something to be taken for granted, it should be equally clear that communication channels could easily be blocked. The mass comunications media, radio and television, exert a tremendous influence, so that the Histadrut's information service — and even the Government's information agencies — come up against a twofold barrier: the one understandably existing in the very nature of the circumstances but not insurmountable; the other — constantly being erected by hostile factors. We must also take into account that (to no mean exent as a result of this hostility) Israel's Arab population is cut off from normal cultural — artistic and literary — nourishment in the Middle East. For the country's Arabs, this could mean existing in a spiritual vacuum. On the face of it, one might expect that such a vacuum could easily be filled. Yet the fact is that no marked initiative has originated among the Arabs of Israel to provide new values and foster literary and artistic creativity that would be uniquely Israeli-Arab in character. Still, a deeper look into the situation must reveal that the Histadrut's and the State's informational and cultural activity must encounter difficulties in any attempt fill this void with new, positive values.

In other words, difficulties exist for the emergence of a social and cultural elite among Israel's Arabs, and these are compounded by the absence of initiative or any developed tradition of public, communal activity. The fact, moreover, that the Arab woman in Israel has only now begun to take her first steps as an active factor in social and cultural life interferes seriously with the introduction of values intended for Israeli Arab society as a whole.

Before the establishment of the State of Israel, the Palestine Arab community consisted of two strata, the urban and the rural, with the latter overwhelmingly in the majority. The urban community had its quota of independent cultural activity, with overtones of extremist nationalism fostered by youth clubs and adults who were members of the free professions. In the rural communities, there was no social-cultural activity to speak of. With the establishment of the State of Israel, the Histadrut made it its business to bring the values of the labor movement home to the entire Arab community. Under prevailing circumstances, this has meant activity principally among the rural Arabs. During the early fifties the system for this kind of cultural activity, with regard both to form and to content, had not yet been worked out. Later on, during the same decade, the Arab Department of the Histadrut Executive Committee began to set up clubrooms for cultural activity in the Arab villages as well as in the mixed population cities (Lod, Ramleh, Yaffo, Haifa, Akko, and smaller urban localities). From then on, cultural activity has been expanding from year to year in breadth and in depth.

For practical purposes, the Histadrut Arab Department's activities take place in three principal spheres:

1. *The effort to foster Israel-mindedness among its Arab inhabitants.* This predicates constant exploration and application of the ways best suited to crystallizing in them an awareness of themselves as Arabs who are Israelis and Israelis who are Arabs.

2. *The fostering of working class and Histadrut-mindedness.* The Arabs of Israel, like most of the Arabs of the Middle East, lagged considerably in their comprehension of the labor movement during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Under the British Mandate, there were some rudimentary attempts at unionization, and it is noteworthy that one of the country's earliest unions, namely the railroad workers' union, was truly international in the sense that Arab and Jewish railroad workers, as government employees, belonged to it. In addition, an attempt was made to maintain a fraternal organization of Arab and Jewish workers in the major cities with mixed populations. Bearing the name of *Brit Poalei Eretz-Yisrael* (Palestine Workers' League), it opened clubrooms in these centers and sought to conduct joint activities of a social, cultural, and to some extent trade-unionist nature. The effort, however, was short-lived owing to the progressive deterioration of the political situation and the thinly disguised efforts of the Mandatory authorities to discourage all such tendencies. It was only some years after the establishment of the State of Israel, in response to objective circumstances as well as to mounting pressure by circles within the Histadrut who demanded it as a matter of principle, that the Ninth Convention of the Histadrut in 1959 declared Israel's Arabs workers unqualifiedly eligible for membership. When implementation of this resolution began in early 1960, it devolved upon the Histadrut's Arab Department to inculcate Israel's Arab society, which consists overwhelmingly of toilers, with labor movement values. Emphasis is on explaining the structure of the Histadrut, it institutions and values, and its unique position in the economy and the State as a whole, its position in Israeli society, its connections with workers' movements throughout the world and not least with the workers' movements in the developing countries of Africa and Asia.

3. *Cultivating appreciation of the arts and literature.* The Arab Department, in various ways which we shall explain, encourages literary creativeness among Israel's Arabs.

Cultural activities are conducted in clubs, mostly for men, but also in separate women's clubs (the latter maintained by joint budgetary allocations from the Arab Department and the Working Women's Council).

The Department has endeavored perseveringly to convert these clubs into a social and cultural factor in their villages, into schools for civic education, for the acquisition of Histadrut values, the development of communal activities, and the advancement of cordial relations between Jews, Arabs, and the State. These clubs are administered by a local Culture Committee and an evening (part-time) secretary.

The activities consist of lectures on various topics: civics, the State, its structure, legislative, executive, and judicial institutions; literary subjects; the National Insurance Scheme and its institutions; the most recent parliamentary legislation and especially labor legislation; popularized science; current political events; Israel's position in the international sphere and its attitude on current international problems. Vocational lectures and guidance are given on agricultural matters. And there are also lectures on questions of hygiene, medicine, and public health.

Mock trials are held publicly on the woman in Arab society, on education, juvenile delinquency and related subjects, on proper cooperation between home and school, on the Arab intellectual's role in his society. And there are symposiums on a wide range of youth problems.

Maintaining these clubs requires trained personnel. During the early years of statehood, the Histadrut's Arab Department conducted these clubs, drew up and directed their programs, from the center. A number of years ago, however, a beginning was made in transferring the initiative for drawing up and implementing such programs to local intellectuals and functionaries in the rural areas.

To that end, local culture committees were set up and these carried on with clubroom activities in coordination with the Arab Department's culture division. This, of course, necessitated training and guidance for the committees, which were provided in the form of study circles and sessions. Also, leaflets encouraging club membership, each adapted to the country's various areas, were published.

Clubroom activity is evaluated, from the Department's point of view, not only by the attendence at lectures but by daily work, such as literary circles, Arab folklore and art groups, evening courses in Hebrew, Arabic, and English, vocational courses in construction draughtsmanship, book-keeping, clerical work and other types of employment.

As for art activity amongst the Arabs of Israel, the Histadrut's Arab Department has diligently fostered artistic values within the Arab community by founding a number of circles in conjunction with the clubrooms.

The Department has taken pains to encourage and disseminate oriental music and for that purpose too has set up circles and clubrooms. At the same time, it seeks to encourage an appreciation of Western orchestral and symphonic music.

Arab folkdancing is likewise nurtured and several dance groups function within the clubs. They appeared at the Summer, 1964, Festival at the Beit-Berl School near the Moshav-Ovdim Tzofit under the auspices of the Histadrut Culture and Education Center.

Some years ago, a Jewish-Arab Dance Group was founded, with people from the Histadrut settlements in the Samaria area and Arab villages in the vicinity participating. This group enjoy's the Center's support as well as that of the Histadrut's Arab Department, the Ha-Poel Sport Organization, and the Israel Association for Understanding and Amity.

In order to acquaint Israel's Arab public with the values, fundamentals, and structure of the Histadrut, the Center conducts seminars lasting from three to six days, study days, and also club-sponsored circles with the aim of getting to know the Histadrut. These circles are designed for workers and intellectuals.

The Histadrut Labor Studies College in Tel-Aviv and *Beitenu,* the Haifa Labor Council's Histadrut Center, conduct such seminars and study days for teachers, for servicemen of the Druze community, for Negev Bedouin, and other minority group members, on various Histadrut and national problems of current importance. Question and answer evenings on the Histadrut are held in Histadrut clubrooms in the various villages with members of the Department and Histadrut leaders participating.

Histadrut anniversary celebrations (during December) and May 1 are celebrated annually with special functions for Arab workers as well as joint celebrations for Arab and Jewish workers from neighboring communities.

In order to strengthen the ties between creative Arab artists, and, in general, to encourage and stimulate Arab creativity within the State, we have held meetings and seminars for writers and poets at the Labor Studies College. The participation of Jewish writers in these seminars is sought, and from time to time they conclude with joint gatherings of Jewish and Arab *literati.*

Within the framework of its printed information for the Arab members of the Histadrut, the Arab Department publishes an Arab language edition of *Know the Histadrut,* a regular series of briefing leaflets for lecturers published by the Culture and Education Center. In addition, the Department publishes current information material in collaboration with other agencies. Thus, booklets for agricultural workers are issued jointly with the Agricultural Workers' Center, while the Arab version of *Israeli Workers* is the result of cooperation between the Arab Department and the Mutual Aid and Social Security Department. Likewise, in translation, there is a constant flow of printed information on trade union problems.

Generally speaking, however, it should be emphasized that the Histadrut's activity amongst the Arabs is not limited to its Arab members but aspires rather to encompass all of Israel's Arab citizens. It is for this reason that the Histadrut's Arab Department collaborates only to a limited extent with the Information Center while devoting the bulk of its efforts to organizing excursions and lectures under the auspices of Histadrut Club Centers.

The Israel Association for Understanding and Amity was founded in 1958 with the fostering of rapprochement between Arabs and Jews as its object. Partners in maintaining this Society are the Histadrut Executive Committee's Arab Department, the Information Center, and a foreign donor who prefers to remain anonymous. The Society encourages meetings and exchanges of visits between Jews and Arabs — young people, adults, and women — so that they may learn to known one another's problems and cultivate an atmosphere of rapprochement and good relations.

One cannot conclude this chapter without mentioning the Department's initiative in establishing a committee, composed of Jewish and Arab artists, which collaborates in collecting and arranging Arab folklore in the form of songs, dances, and folk legends.*

*** For the widebranching publication activity of the Department's Arabic publishing house, see following chapter "The Histadrut as a publisher."**

THE HISTADRUT AS A PUBLISHER

Books are a cultural and educational instrument *par excellence,* and the Histadrut has been active in book publishing from its inception. The old Histadrut Central Committee on Culture (forerunner of the present Culture and Education Center) regarded book publication one of its primary tasks. With the founding of the Histadrut's daily *Davar,* this central Histadrut organ commenced to publish books from time to time and has continued to do so to this day.

Am Oved

In the year 1942, the late Berl Katzenelson founded the Histadrut Central Book Publishing House, *Am Oved* (The Working People), and was able, during the two remaining years of his life, to endow it with a mighty impetus. *Am Oved* has functioned regularly since then and can boast of a number of impressive achievements. Among these, particularly deserving of mention is the *Sifriyah La-Am* (People's Library), founded through the joint initiative of *Am Oved* and the Culture and Education Center. Month by month, in planned sequence, this Library puts out the best in world and Hebrew literature at popular prices. In view of the flood of vulgar literature that has been swamping the market, the importance of this Library, culturally and educationally, is inestimable. *Am Oved's* catalogue lists original prose works, prose translations, original poetry, translated poetry, studies in the realm of history, economics, political science, the Israeli labor movement, and other important fields. An important innovation is the *Dan Haskhan* ("Frugal Dan") Library for juveniles which publishes excellent books for children at unprecedentedly low prices. This house has also successfully overcome formidable obstacles in the publication of original *belles lettres* and, in keeping with its splendid tradition, keeps up enduring connections with writers both of the Old Guard and the younger generations. Quite a number of the latter have had their work published through *Am Oved's Sifriyah La-Am* (People's Library) and thus enjoyed a distribution that runs into many thousands of copies each. Titles recently published by *Am Oved* include basic texts on the history of the Jewish people, books on socialist thinking throughout the world and in Israel, letters of the movement's founders and leaders, the history of the State of Israel, and problems of social and economic planning in Israel. *Am Oved* also publishes textbooks and research works at a university level and cooperates likewise in putting out books of art, albums, handbooks, reference books, and anthologies. In addition, the Histadrut's publishing house has recently recorded signal achievements in the field of travelogues and memoirs.

Am Oved publishes a quarterly devoted to economics and the economy. This periodical has acquired a national reputation in Israel as the authoritative publication on economic and social matters. Its volumes are a veritable storehouse of Israel's economic history, with analyses and descriptions of the various stages in its development, their concomitant problems and the solutions sought.

This quarterly has avoided becoming a purely academic and research periodical. It is intended not only for economists as such and for students but for economists and experts employed in the various branches of the economy who possess ability to clarify economic problems for a broader public.

Sifriyat Ha-Sadeh

One of the Histadrut's earliest publication enterprises was the now veteran agricultural monthly *Ha-Sadeh* (The Field) and its associated *Sifriyat Ha-Sadeh* (Ha-Sadeh Library). This monthly, devoted to the mixed farming economy, first appeared in the summer of 1920 under the auspices of the Agricultural Commission of the Ha-Poel Ha-Tzair Party. With the founding of the Histadrut that same year and the inclusion within it of the unified Agricultural Workers' Organization, *Ha-Sadeh* became the latter's official organ.

From then on and down to the present, *Ha-Sadeh* has appeared continuously at regular intervals and actually serves as the authorized comprehensive organ of the country's entire agricultural sector. Along with seasonal instruction pamphlets for farmers in all branches, it has made public both the latest improvements and innovations in agriculture, including those learned abroad and adapted to Israel's needs, as well as those which are the fruit of experience and inventive aptitude among the country's own agriculturists. *Ha-Sadeh* is also a publishing outlet for the findings obtained in the country's various agricultural research institutions. *Ha-Sadeh's* pages have faithfully mirrored the development and improvement of Israel's agriculture from the years immediately following World War I up to the present.

From 1934 and on, *Ha-Sadeh* has been sponsoring the publication of comprehensive books on various farming branches or on subjects of general agricultural interest. With the passing years, this book publishing activity has become frequent and regular. Its aim is to afford agriculturists in all branches and at every level books enabling them to expand and supplement their agricultural knowledge. This, in fact, is how the *Ha-Sadeh* Library came into being.

A small proportion of the books published so far have been translations of important basic texts written by some of the world's outstanding experts. Mainly, however, these books have had to be written with an eye to the country's own experience and prevalent conditions. Therefore most of the titles in the *Ha-Sadeh Library* list of publications represent original works by the country's outstanding research men and experts.

Culture and Education

The Culture and Education Center maintains a publishing house, of the same name, which represents yet another major Histadrut publishing enterprise.* Founded in 1956, its initial task was to take charge of the two monthlies, *Urim* (Lights) and *Urim Le-Horim* (Lights for Parents), which had been issued up to then by the Education Center. When the latter merged with the Culture Center, these two periodicals became the Central organs, in their field, of the new Culture and Education Center. This house specializes in the publication of text books, educational accesories, reference books for personnel active in the various cultural fields such as music, folk-dancing, theater, or handicrafts. The Government's Ministry of Education and Culture has recently entrusted this publishing house with the task of putting out books and pamphlets on pedagogical and didactic subjects. The house has continued to publish textbooks and has also set up a new division for the publishing of material relating to the Israel labor movement. Similarly, it has published the classic works of the movement's founding fathers on the Histadrut, the first of this series having been David Ben-Gurion's *The Jewish Worker and His Organization.*

Midot

The Histadrut's Trade Union Department, in collaboration with the Israel Association of Architects and Engineers, maintains a publishing agency for books on technical subjects known as *Midot* (Dimensions). Thus far, twenty-four books have come out with the fundamental aim of making professional knowledge of a superior quality available. *Midot* books serve engineering, technological, administrative, worker, and student circles.

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* For additional details concerning this venture **vide supra,** description of the various activities of the Center's Departments and Divisions.

The avowed aim of the directors of *Midot* is to introduce vocational and professional texts in Hebrew to all those who require them, whatever their classification and level, so that workers, technicians, engineers, and students may enrich their professional knowledge in a variety of fields and keep abreast of the endless flow of innovations and discovery in the world's developed countries.

This publishing house aspires to accustom the Israeli worker to vocational literature in a language and in terms comprehensible to him It is worth emphasizing here that from year to year there has been marked progress in the interest taken by Israel's workers in vocational literature in the Hebrew language.

Arabic Publishing House

A chapter in itself, and one of unique importance, is the activity of the Histadrut's publishing venture in the Arabic language. It was undertaken in 1962 as an institution in its own right, taking charge of the Histadrut's Arabic paper, *Al-Yaum* (Today) in partnership with the Al-Yaum Society, as well as Arabic versions of the Histadrut's various periodicals and books. The institution is registered as an "Ottoman Society" numbering sixty-two Arab and Jewish members. It is administered by an elective advisory council and a governing committee, two of whose members are elected while five are appointed by the Secretary-General of the Histadrut. The activities of this publishing house during the period under review include the following publications:

Al-Yaum — Israel's only daily in the Arabic language, has been in existence for over twenty years. The special Fifteenth Anniversary number was the occasion for many editorial and technical improvements. It has published special editions marking holidays and important events. From the beginning of July, 1964, the paper expanded its format by adding two pages to the Tuesday edition. A growing interest in sports among its younger readers resulted in a larger sports department.

Al-Yaum Children's Supplement — published bi-weekly for children and young teen-agers. Its importance for Arab school pupils has gained it the active support of the Education and

Culture Ministry's Department of Culture and Education for the National Minorities.

The Al-Yaum publishing house puts out important text book series for use in Government schools.

Kibbutz Federation Publishing Houses

Along with *Am Oved,* there are two other major book publishing houses within the general framework of the Histadrut. They represent the initiative of two of the three major kibbutz federations in the country. The veteran enterprise — by a few months — is that of the Hashomer Hatzair Movement's National Kibbutz Federation (*Kibbutz Artzi*). Known as the Workers' Library (*Sifriyat Poalim*), it commenced publication activities in 1939 and by 1965 had published more than a thousand titles. The range of subjects encompassed by these books is highly diversified: original creations in Hebrew as well as translations from Yiddish, English, Russian, French, Italian, Spanish, and a number of other less widely spoken languages. These translations have included world literary classics and contemporary creations, scientific works, research and theory, socialist thought, auxiliary text books for young people and adults, books on the arts, and children's literature. *Sifriyat Poalim* has launched and carried out such undertakings as a lexicon of Hebrew literature in recent generations, a new series — *Gilboa* — of pocket editions of contemporary works, booklets on modern thinking, the books compiled by the *Moreshet* Holocaust Memorial Foundation and — its most recent and monumental enterprise — *An Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* of which three of the projected four volumes had already come off the press and the final volume was about to appear when these lines were being written.

The United Kibbutz Federation (*Kibbutz Meuchad*) is also in the publishing business and can boast of a long series of important accomplishments Founded in 1939, on the eve of World War II, its aim was and still is to make cultural instruments available to the current generation for use in all the tasks confronting it, social and spiritual — in land settlement, national security, education, mastery of the Hebrew language — to enable it to become steeped in Hebrew culture and broaden its horizons. The first book to be published by this house was Yosef Braslavi's *Knowest Thou the Land?* (*Ha-Yad'ata et-Ha-Aretz?*), a veritable tourist's guide and mentor providing detailed historical and archeological information about literally hundreds of the country's ancient and modern sites in the form of excursion programs, route by route, area by area. Since then, the field has constantly been covered by this publisher's activities. Special attention, however, is devoted by the Kibbutz Meuchad's Publishing House to movement literature, to the natural sciences (and specifically to agricultural science), to the social sciences, Jewish history, original Hebrew literature, and to creations rooted in the Kibbutz form of life. This house has published a complete series of books on the period of the Holocaust and the Palestine Jewish Community's struggle for national independence.

Trade Unions as Publishers

Among the trade unions, the Clerical Workers' Union and the Teachers' Union are actively engaged in book publishing in their respective professional fields.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE LABOR ARCHIVE

Thirty-five years ago, the Histadrut established the Labor Archive, with the cardinal object of teaching and inculcating all sectors and formations within the working class — from the simple laborer to the salaried intellectual — with the values and the cultural heritage of the labor movement.

It was on this foundation that the framework was built and the appropriate patterns developed for the Archive's all-important cultural activity.

To achieve its ends, this institution has. from the very beginning, functioned on two planes. The one, directed outwardly, has the purpose of imparting knowledge on cultural-ideological subjects relating to the labor movement. To that end, it publishes a bulletin series under the caption *Archive News* (*Yediot Ha-Archiyon*) as well as a magazine called *Collections* (*Asufot*), devoted alike to discussions of principles, values and the chronicles of the labor movement.

In order to acquaint the younger generation with past exploits in pioneering and defense, the Labor Archive has published the *Kovetz Ha-Hashomer*, a documentary collection of articles, essays, and memoirs dealing with the earliest beginnings and development of the self-defense movement sponsored by the Zionist Labor movement in the early years of the twentieth century. Also, it has published a photographed edition of the first monthly ever issued in the Hebrew language, Lieberman's *Emet* (*Truth*), which came out in Vienna during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Another type of activities conducted by the Labor Archive are the mobile and permanent exhibitions based on the important collection of photographs in the Archive's files and on rare and valuable documents in its collections.

These exhibitions have reached practically every corner of the country — Kibbutzim, Moshavim, and places of work. They have made an immeasurably important contribution to the enlightenment of the working class community.

Among these exhibitions, the particularly noteworthy ones have been those devoted to Ber Borochov, the poetess Rachel, the Second Aliyah, and so too the Trumpeldor-Tel-Hai exhibition. Three years ago, with the Culture and Education Center jointly, the Berl Katzenelson Exhibition was added to this distinguished list. The Labor Archive also made a signal contribution to setting up the Petah-Tikvah Jubilee Exhibition.

At regular intervals, thousands of public school pupils, factory workers, and Labor Council instructors visit this institution to hear lectures by staff members on the history of the Israeli and Labor Zionist movement. Some of these lectures have been broadcast by Israel's State Broadcasting Service, Kol Yisrael.

The second plane, more conventional but hardly less important, on which this institution functions is that of rendering assistance and guidance to various researches. These range from those who have made a hobby of getting to know the Labor Movement, and the Jewish labor movement in particular, to students, scientists, and authors preparing papers or writing books based on material to be found in the Archives.

THE PRESS

The daily press is supposed to supply news and shape public opinion. It is therefore able to serve as a prime instrument for the dissemination of cultural and educational values. The central press organ of the Histadrut is the daily *Davar,* which launched its own publishing house activity from its earliest days and has even set up extensions of paramount cultural and educational importance. In this book's context, one should mention right at the outset *Davar's* subsidiary, *Omer,* a vowel-pointed daily, the importance of which for the education of new *Olim* (immigrants) cannot be overestimated. The Hebrew alphabet, which is almost exclusively a consonantal one, cannot easily be read unless one has mastered the grammar. Aware of this, more than 1,500 years ago the Jewish sages devised a system of vowel points which, when written or printed under (and in some cases over or inside) the letters, indicated the correct vocalization of the consonants All printed texts of the Bible, as well as Hebrew poetry, employ this system; and for the instruction of children too, it has been exceedingly useful. For adults, until they have absorbed the pattern of words and sentences and no longer have to depend on the points, this system as applied to *Omer,* has been a Godsend, facilitating their transition from the foreign to the Hebrew language press while at the same time keeping them posted on current events and opinions Even by the usual journalistic standards, *Omer* is one of the better dailies published in Israel and one could only wish it enjoyed a larger circulation than it does.

Davar also publishes *D'var Ha-Poelet,* monthly organ of the Working Women's Council (*Moetzet Ha-Poalot*), also an exemplary educational instrument from its earliest days. The first editor of this publication, who stood at its helm for many years, was Rachel Katzenelson-Shazar; the President's wife. In the introduction to a recently published anthology including selections from *D'var Ha-Poelet* that appeared between the years 1934-1959, Mrs. Shazar wrote: "It has been correctly said that [D'var Ha-Poelet] was the first and most enduring mouthpiece for the Jewish woman. It shared the life of the woman workers, the mothers, who were defending and settling the country. From them it drew, attentively and lovingly, the faithful expression of the many and the creativeness of the few." This periodical continues ably to carry out its task

The Children's *Davar* (*Davar li-Yeladim*) is the vehicle of a wholesome influence exerted on youngsters and adolescents. It may be regarded as one of the excellent educational instruments at the Histadrut's disposal.

A number of Histadrut parties publish their own papers: *Al Ha-Mishmar* is the daily organ of the United Workers' Party (*Mapam*); *La-Merhav* is published daily by the Labor Unity Party (*Achdut Ha-Ovodah*)*; *Kol Ha'am* is the Israel Communist Party's daily (not to be confused with the Arab oriented "New List Communists"). All these papers have regular departments featuring cultural and educational matters. Obviously, their objectives in the exertion of influence and in shaping public opinion in the spirit of their party aspirations transcend the defined scope of these departments. Nevertheless, — cultural and educational affairs *are* an integral part of this task.

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* **Achdut Ha-Avodah** was one of the three parties which merged to form the Israel Labor Party after these lines were written. — Ed.

The Histadrut's information service is also based on the periodicals published by the various organizations, associations, and institutions existing within its sphere. Many Local Labor Councils publish their own organs, and of these some have attained quite a high level. Others, of course, need regular coaching.

The various Histadrut farm settlement movements publish important periodicals. To begin with one should mention their weeklies: The Hashomer Hatzair (*Kibbutz Artzi*) Federation's *This Week in the Kibbutz Artzi* (*Ha-Shavua ba-Kibbutz Ha-Artzi*); The *Union of K'vutzot and Kibbutzim's* (*Ihud Ha-K'vutzot ve-he-Kibbutzim*) *Epistle* (*Igeret*); and *In the Kibbutz* (*Ba-Kibbutz*) published by the United Kibbutz Association (*Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meuhad*). The Moshav movement also has its publications, *T'lamim* and *Ma'anit.* These movements furthermore publish regular periodicals, appearing as monthlies, bi-monthlies, or quarterlies, with a larger format, and a wide range of material on literary, educational, socio-political and scientific subjects. Their educational impact is inestimable. In addition, however, there is intense journalistic activity within each community. There is hardly a Kibbutz or Moshav without its own local, mimeographed or printed organ. These publications, undoubtedly serving for both instruction and entertainment, exert considerable influence in the educational and cultural sphere. The central economic organizations also publish their own organs such as *Ha-Meshek Ha-Meshutaf* (The Collective Economy) and *Koor* (Consortium of Histadrut industrial enterprises').

The main publication presenting information on developments inside the Histadrut is the monthly *Ba-Histadrut,* launched in January, 1962, by the Histadrut Executive. Every issue contains a wide range of material. This monthly, in a turn, is supplemented by the Histadrut Yearbook — the first volume of which covered the year 1963/64. Each issue in this series contains a summary of Histadrut activities in the preceeding year, as well as reports on research projects and surveys conducted into Histadrut affairs. Today the only way to be properly informed of Histadrut developments is through reference to these Yearbooks.

Naturally, despite all these ramified activities, the problem still remains how to reach each and every member of the Histadrut with up-to-date and authoritative information; for it is axiomatic that in order for the individual to be an effective and fully-participating member of the Histadrut, he must be reasonably well informed of its activities. The Histadrut has not yet found an adequate solution to this problem. One of the achievements to the credit of the Histadrut's information endeavors is the publication of the "*Little Notebook*" — a small pamphlet designed to reach the widest possible public of members. This was followed by another experiment — publication of a bulletin, *Hed Ha-Histadrut* ("*Histadrut Echo*") — also aimed at a mass readership of Histadrut members; subsequently, the "*Little Notebook*" project was resumed. However, since these publications were launched, the Histadrut has grown and the question now is how to reach hundreds of thousands of its members. The problem assumes an even more serious aspect with the growing influence of the mass communications media which of necessity reduce the penetrative powers of the orthodox channels of communication that are employed by the Histadrut for conveying cultural and educational material. It might be said that herein lies one of the fundamental problems facing the Histadrut's educational and cultural activities; their effectiveness is bound to be at a considerable disadvantage as long as they are confined to the conventional communications media.

CULTURAL ACTIVITY OF THE WORKING WOMEN'S COUNCIL

The activities of the Working Women's Council (Moetzet Ha-Poalot) and the Working Mothers Organizations (Irgun Imahot Ovdot) are, naturally, intended primarily for the women members of the Histadrut. However, without a doubt this endeavor also has positive results affecting the entire body of the Histadrut. It is an established fact that the women members, in general, are especially responsive to the requirements of cultural activity — but mainly as "consumers". Anybody who attends cultural activities today and makes a rapid survey of those present will have little difficulty in discerning the high percentage of women in the audience; in many cases, the feminine element is definitely predominant. As against this, women have not yet assumed their proper role in the active, "producer" phase of such activities — as lecturers or platform participants in debates. The reason frequently given for this by the women members themselves is the woman's natural reluctance to appear before a mixed forum. The ladies however make up for this reluctance tenfold in their willingness to carry out the tasks of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in the cultural and social activities. The Working Mothers' Organization has deservedly earned its reputation for being in the forefront of voluntary endeavor in the tough, drab, everyday jobs of immigrant absorption and providing aid and assistance for individuals, ever ready to help where the personal touch and intimate family treatment are required. Today, we may say that this attitude of reluctance to participate actively in the functions of a mixed society is gradually altering and disappearing; but the Working Women's Council believes that it is still worthwhile and desirable today to foster social cultural activities among an exclusively feminine public, if only on the grounds that in such a forum it is easier to persuade the woman member to voice her opinions and to assume an active role in initiating cultural work on a higher level. The results confirm this premise. Over recent years, close co-operation has been forged between the Culture and Education Center and the Working Women's Council — ranging from the planning and financing phase at the central, headquarters level, to the final phase of implementation in the settlements and towns themselves; though here and there difficulties are still encountered.

The Working Women's Council's cultural activities are carried out under the auspices of that organization's Culture and Information Department. This Department:

a. Plans centralized projects: one-week study seminars; rotas of study and recreation days during the summer months; morning seminars for regular studies once weekly; evening seminars for working women; regional, nationwide and local study days; evenings devoted to the journal *D'var Ha-Poelet;* regional and local assembles to mark International Women's Day; tours and trips.

b. Encourages the following local activities at points throughout the country: study circles of various kinds: Bible, literature, Israel's geography, citizenship, foreign languages, handicrafts; lectures, women members' meeting; socials home circles; the celebration of Jewish, Israeli and labor movement festivals; regular information activities in the neighborhood guidance centers, the community centers, the women's clubs, and the Histadrut clubs; the conducting of language study classes; small voluntary study groups

One project worth noting is the "Study and Recreation Day Scheme" which enables housewives to leave behind their chores and worries for a while to return to the school bench, and listen to top-level lecturers and conversationalists.

Ramified cultural activity is also maintained among Arab women through women's clubs in Arab villages.

CULTURAL ACTIVITY IN THE LABOR FARM SETTLEMENTS

The Jewish village in Israel has been the cadre of creative, cultural activity, new in form and content. It still takes the lead in this domain even though it has experienced profound, even revolutionary, changes. In the vicinity of the old-established kibbutzim and moshavim, thousands of Jews have settled on Israel's soil in Moshavei Olim (new immigrant smallholders' coops). In both classes of settlement, the villagers, as creative builders of the land and of the people, are forging a culture in the elementary sense of the term. And if, with regard to the problems of cultural activity, there is a difference — sometimes even a vast gap — between the various types of settlement, one may, nevertheless, discern some common factors in the problems of the Jewish village as a whole. It is therefore pertinent to consider the building of bridges of cooperation between the various types of village. Israel's Regional Councils have an important role to play in this respect, and some of them are doing a great deal towards fulfilling this task.

The Kibbutz Movement

The settlement movements with which the kibbutzim are affiliated have always considered it their duty to encourage and promote cultural activity in their villages, but it is evident that, when all is said and done, it is the cultural potential inherent in the individual kibbutz, and the endeavors made to reveal this potential, to invest it with a proper form and provide it with an outlet that will prove decisive. It is not surprising that the cultural chart of the kibbutzim has many ups and downs, and reveals various levels — all depending on the structure and mentality of the particular membership, its economic and social circumstances, and even on the presence or absence of individuals dedicated and devoted to the idea. Social and economic difficulties do exert a considerable effect, but there are no grounds for assuming that these constitute the decisive factor. There have been many cases of learning acquired in poverty.

Some kibbutzim successfully interweave their cultural activity in the general pattern of their life, and it has become a factor that immunizes and strengthens the entire society against dangers and difficulties. Some kibbutzim have revived traditions and customs which, over the years, have become the common asset of the entire movement and have, indeed, enriched the entire labor farming enterprise in Israel. For example, an original form has been evolved in the kibbutzim for the celebration of some of the Jewish festivals. "...To begin with, a new image was given to two principal Jewish festivals — Passover and Pentecost. The *Pesah* (Passover) festival claimed its right to exist as a major, indeed irreplaceable, national festival. This is the festival of redemption in a profound symbolic sense, and it clamored for symbolic expression among the generation of new immigrants who came to this country with the tidings of Redemption" — as the late Nahum Benari put it.*

The revival of folk art and its various media has also taken place primarily in the labor settlements, and they are still its principal source and subject to this day. It is in this framework of the settlements that one may still find the striving to discover a synthesis between the old and the new, to find solutions to problems which present the utmost difficulty to the urban population. Thus, for example, the synthesis between toil and learning which, in the kibbutzim, means that every single child of these farmers and workers is guaranteed a secondary education — is indeed a praiseworthy example. A way is being sought today of ensuring that education can be taken even beyond that phase for every kibbutz born and reared individual.

It is quite certain that the ideal of a society devoted to both toil and learning, one that is fundamental to the concept of Israeli society, may find its first solution in the Jewish village; this would be further confirmation of the originality of that village form: among the nations of the world, it is assumed that the rural milieu, far from representing the vanguard of progress, lags behind the urban population in culture and education. Indeed the backwardness of the rural scene is one of the urgent issues in the modern world.

An inter-kibbutz commitee on cultural affairs, the cultural department of the Association of Kibbutz Movements, and a special section for cultural activity within the framework of the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center — all help in the organization and promotion of cultural activities within each locality and on a regional and nationwide scale. Also worth mentioning is the fact that the main branches of the kibbutz movement have each established the following most important institutions of study for members active in fostering their cultural and ideological affairs:

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* "Manifestations of Culture in the Revived Hebrew Village" — N. Ben-Ari, an article in **Kamah**, Massada Publishers 1948.

Givat Havivah — maintained by the *Kibbutz Artzi* (Federation of 'Hashomer Hatzair' Kibbutzim);

Efal — by the *Kibbutz M'euhad* (United Kibbutz Federation;

Beit Berl — the *Ihud* (Union) *Ha-K'vutzot ve-Kibbutzim* is quite active in this institution, sponsored by the Israel Labor Party.

Cultural Activity in the Moshavim

The *moshav* is a smallholders' farm cooperative and it is also the scene of manifold cultural activity. With the mass immigration to Israel after the establishment of the State, new immigrant settlements, populated for the most part by immigrants who lacked sufficient social and cultural training, sprang up all over the country. They came from many and different countries and brought with them a vast range of widely differing cultural traditions.

Whereas the old-established moshavim had succeeded in crystallizing their own forms of cultural and social experience, similar in many ways to those developed in the kibbutzim, the new immigrant moshavim had to cope with primary problems of culture and civilization in extremely trying conditions, so that it may be noted with due credit to many of them that, despite these difficulties, they struck root in the land and settled down.

The Culture and Education Center, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and Culture, doing all in its power to encourage this process, has set up a special section to deal specifically with these endeavors.

Other Cultural Activities in the Labor Settlements

We may also recall here the cultural activity conducted among the Histadrut members of the so-called private sector rural communities. Naturally, the intensity of cultural activity varies from one village to the next. This survey of cultural activity in the labor settlements would not be complete without mentioning a number of the many institutional centers set up for various purposes in different parts of the country, some of which have won well-deserved fame. To mention only a few:

- *Beit-Gordon* at Degania — a nature study and agricultural research center.
- *Beit-Haim Sturman* at Ein-Harod — a regional science and education center.
- *The Trumpeldor Center* at Tel-Yoseph — commemorating one of the fallen heroes of the labor movement and devoted to facilitating study of the movement's history.
- *Beit-Hankin* at K'far Yehoshua — a national center for geographical field study and Palestinian history.
- *Beit-Wilfried Israel* at Kibbutz Hazorea — a museum of art and anthropology and studies center.
- *Beit-Lohamei Hagetaot* in Western Galilee — at the Kibbutz of the same name — commemorating the Holocaust and the courage and bravery displayed by the Jewish Fighting Organizations.

THE URBAN COMMUNITIES

The large majority of Histadrut members live in urban centers varying greatly in size and other respects but nevertheless sharing the characteristics common to towns — with all the implications that follow. Many of these centers are still known by the name of *moshavah* ("colony") and one may still find traces in them of the characteristics of the newly founded villages they once were; but the urbanization of these localities is progressing rapidly and brings in its wake sociological and psychological developments which are a background and focus of many problems facing the Histadrut in the sphere of its cultural and educational activity.

Generally, it might be said that there are many factors in the urban setting, which hamper the effectiveness of the Histadrut's cultural and educational activity, while at the same time others are present that facilitate this activity in itself. Most of the means necessary for such activity (if it is to include such items as premises, people, or monetary resources) are available in the city, but as against this most of those factors which interfere with the orderly application of these means in a given direction are also present in the city. What we have, then, are positive and negative urban factors in combinations varying from one locality to the next. Thus, naturally, the large city differs considerably from the medium-sized town, from the new-immigrant township and from the *moshavah* in the process of becoming urbanized. Every case must be considered on its own merits, and the Histadrut's cultural and educational activity faces challenges — some with many similar, others with widely differing characteristics.

The direct organizational function in each locality is fulfilled by the Labor Council, which is the Histadrut's basic local unit. For urban localities, the Histadrut Executive's Organization Department supervises the guidance of the Labor Council.s In rural localities, the Agricultural Center's Rural Settlement Department fulfils a similar function for those smaller towns included in the category of *moshavot*. Both these institutions cooperate fully with the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center, which extends assistance to the Labor Councils in promoting initiative for cultural and educational activity. The Organization Department has set up a special study section for this purpose, a section for activities in the city quarters, and it also assumes the main responsibility for a committee set up by the Histadrut Executive to deal with the specific problems of 17-year olds (i.e. youths in the year before their army call-up, when "loose-end" problems frequently crop up among those who have left school).

The Department also has a special section for dealing with workers not organized in the trade unions. The *Moshavot* Department at the Agricultural Center has also set up a training committee, which seeks to encourage the Labor Councils in the *moshavot* to conduct cultural and educational activities. It does this primarily through seminars for cultural activity leaders from the *moshavot* (a project carried out in full cooperation with the Culture and Education Center).

Regional organizers serve as the link between the Education and Culture Center and the Labor Councils. Their task is a many-faceted one: they must convey the Center's directives to the local bodies and ensure that they are duly implemented. They do all in their power to help the Labor Council cultural organizers, while at the same time they act as spokesmen for the councils under their auspices, conveying their requirements to the Culture and Education Center.

Of course, this combination of tasks varies with the situation of the specific Labor Council. Where there is a Labor Council well-tried in the sphere of cultural activity, the Regional Organizer's task is of lesser importance and is confined to the — admittedly vital — task of supervision; but where the Labor

Council is just taking its first steps along this road, the Regional Organizer has a far more extensive role to fulfil and, together with the local Culture Organizer, a wide range of practical organization tasks.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION WORKERS — STUDY AND TRAINING

The range of activity described in this book does not merely happen. Active initiators are needed, and these may be divided into two categories: cadres who undertake these tasks as an only or partial source of income; and groups of individuals who voluntarily involve themselves in these activities, while their source of livelihood is elsewhere. The relationship between these two groups is of the outmost importance for the image of cultural and educational activity in the Histadrut. At the same time, it is also one of the causes of the chronic weaknesses of this activity. For it is widely assumed that no special professional training is needed for conducting cultural activity, that it can easily be carried out on a voluntary basis, even perfunctorily, in addition to other occupations. It is to this attitude that the marginal nature of this activity is largely due, and to overcome and uproot so mistaken an attitude is a lengthy process of several phases. Whereas many have already come to realize that the task cannot be carried out marginally, since it requires all the talents and energy a person can give, many in fact have not yet rejected the notion that it is a task requiring no particular education or vocational specialization, and that therefore anybody so inclined may try his hand at it. This in turn, is the cause of the constant state of self-defense in position and status in which the culture worker finds himself.

The following two objectives, then, must be met: to raise the level of education and training of the culture worker on the one hand, and to encourage and foster volunteer cadres for this activity on the other. Due emphasis must be placed on the principle that to pursue the one objective does not mean to belittle the importance of the other; for both categories of culture workers have their own, clearly-defined role to play.

One fact, perhaps unique to Israel, is worth recording here. The map of the Histadrut's cultural activity covers the entire country, with but very few exceptions. In each locality — whether urban or rural — there is a cultural committee based on voluntary work.

To stimulate and guide these committees in their function is in itself a task of considerable educational and cultural significance. The problem of how their members should be trained for their task has not yet found a comprehensive solution; but it is secondary to the even more important problem of providing adequate training and further study for those who serve as organizers of these committees, or the "Cultural Organizers" as they have come to be called in Israel. Many diverse experiments have been carried out by the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center and the central cultural committees of the separate movements, with a view to finding a solution to this problem. Clearly, a permanent training center is urgently required for adequately preparing those placed in these positions to cope with their task. Indeed, this objective comes close to the top of the priorities list among the tasks to be tackled by the Culture and Education Center.

In this respect, there is a wide scope for extensive cooperation with the Universities in Israel, which have not yet found the possibility or time to establish departments for adult education. The Israel Association for Adult Education has also recognized this objective as one of its main concerns. It would, however, be an exaggeration to claim that, as a result of all these initiatives and gropings, anything permanent and tangible, yet at the same time flexible and capable of advancing with the times, has yet been evolved. This situation almost certainly reflects the regrettable weakness of adult education throughout the world.

JOINT PROJECTS WITH OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Government

Governments should play a more extensive role in cultural and educational activities. This statement applies to all countries, but perhaps to Israel in particular, where such rapid processes of consolidating a state, a people, a country and a society are under way. All these processes need to be accompanied — indeed, promoted — by strenuous cultural and educational activity. It is inconceivable that voluntary social institutions should be able to carry all of the burden involved. The trend in society today is to assign many tasks to government, and rightly so — for the enormous rise in the outlay involved in most spheres of public activity makes it essential to be able to resort constantly to legislation, compulsory taxation and other means at the disposal of the state. In the democratic state, this process predicates a suitable structure of social instruments to make possible the preservation of a certain equilibrium between social and governmental factors — one of the prerequisites for the proper functioning of a true democracy. In the sphere of culture and education, this striving for equilibrium finds expression in the imbalance between the budgetary and organizational burdens, between social and governmental institutions — depending on the content of the particular educational or cultural activity and the measure of its universality and urgency. In general, it may be said that the democratic state today is assuming ever increasing responsibility for education, while leaving much of the responsibility in the cultural domain to social institutions. This too is the situation in Israel. With considerable satisfaction, we note that the Government of Israel is constantly assuming greater responsibility for education and its many ramifications. It may be assumed that, with the necessary means at its disposal, it would extend the scope of its responsibilities even further into this sphere. Is this just cause for objection? Apparently not, for it is inconceivable that any social organization — even one as powerful as the Histadrut — could assume this heavy burden. As the demand grows for more education in the state, it is increasingly directed to the Government.

With regard to cultural activity, initiative and practical action are as yet evenly divided between Histadrut and governmental institutions, and this balance is a welcome feature. In this sphere, a truly democratic state is concerned with having the social institutions preserve their initiative, their capacity and scope of activity, on the simple grounds that the wider the range of initiative taken by various social and voluntary agencies — the better this is for society and for democracy. Furthermore, in most advanced, democratic states, governments confine themselves to extending generous aid to social institutions while supervising the manner in which this aid is to be applied in accordance with the powers conferred by legislation, and without seeking in any way to take over the actual job itself. In Israel, however, events have taken a different course. Here the government does seek to do these things itself, or at least a considerable proportion of them. There are certainly admissable grounds for this aspiration; the needs are so manifold and the time so pressing that the initiative of social organizations alone cannot perhaps be expected to meet the requirements adequately. However, it is evident that in this situation the solution to be attained is closer cooperation between the governmental and the social agencies — in the present case, the Histadrut institutions. To a great exent, such cooperation has already reached an advanced stage of planning and activity, but it encounters more difficulties in actual practice than can be accepted as reasonable, and this owing to the existence of separate channels of implementation. However, some major achievements in this field are worth mentioning: in Hebrew language teaching (both through regular classes and voluntary teaching); in providing higher level study courses; in encouraging artistic activity; in organizing guided tours of the country; in the establishment of libraries. In fact, in all those activities not in the category of the labor movement's information work, there are important elements of cooperation with the government.

The Jewish Agency

Much of the Histadrut's cultural activity directed specially towards fostering the absorption of new immigrants is undertaken jointly with the Jewish Agency.

The Local Authorities

Relations between the local authorities and local Histadrut institutions are not identical everywhere. In many urban centers, there is full cooperation between the culture departments of the municipality and of the Labor Councils, sometimes with a single executive arm working on a joint budget and according to joint directives. This applies in particular to the Hebrew Language classes, to the campaign against illiteracy and to the higher education courses. In this field, "triangles" often emerge: the Ministry of Education and Culture, the local authority and the local Labor Council. There is no doubt whatsoever that the public must benefit from such cooperation. In other localities, some tension prevails between the local authority — given a divergent political composition — and the local Histadrut representation, and consequently much is done in a spirit of rivalry rather than cooperation. The situation is even more deplorable when, even if the local authority is friendly to the Histadrut in political inclination, the two sides do not manage to overcome rival ambitions and then a negative competition develops with no basis in any objective requirements — apart from the personal needs of those directly engaged in what may deteriorate into needless duplications.

Under no circumstances may we overlook the power of certain administrative interests which, as everybody knows, exert considerable influence in Israel. The Histadrut, naturally, is anxious to encourage the activities of the local authority — in particular when it is friendly; but at the same time, the Histadrut cannot permit itself to be ousted from the scene of cultural activity, for this activity determines the very character of the Histadrut as much more than merely a trade union organization. Even in that capacity, it owes its members a great deal in the sphere of cultural activity. In the rural areas, the local authority (the Area Council or the villages themselves) is virtually identical with the Histadrut to all intents and purposes where municipal affairs are concerned. We have already noted the growing importance of the Area Council in fostering cultural activity and pointed out how much there remains yet to be done in this field.

Institutions of Higher Education

These too are important partners with the Histadrut in the sphere of cultural activity. In particular, this may be said for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. For many years the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center has been represented on the executive of the Popular Education Center affiliated with the Hebrew University, and it works together with this body in several types of activity or in association with other institutions: lectures, study days, study series, recreation days at the University campus, and lastly — in the Institute of Higher Education established by the Histadrut's Culture and Education Center. Among these institutions is the Avshalom Institute for Palestinian Geography. For seven years, the College of Social Studies founded by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was maintained in Tel-Aviv through the Center for Popular Education, until it was merged with the Tel-Aviv extension of the Hebrew University. The Center for Popular Education and the Culture and Education Center cooperate in fostering regional centers for adult education. This represents a breakthrough in one of the important projects undertaken in the past by the University, which used to give systematic courses in many rural settlements. The National and University Library in Jerusalem has also, for many years, maintained close ties with the Histadrut in meeting the latter's needs.

Cooperation in various forms with the other Institutes of Higher Learning is also emerging in Israel.

The Public Council for Culture and Art; The Israeli UNESCO Committee

The Histadrut is represented on the Public Council for Culture and Art, which functions under the auspices of the Minister for Education and Culture, in its general forum and on its executive, as well as in several of the projects it has established. This applies also to the Israeli Council for UNESCO and its executive. In conjunction with the Foreign Ministry, the Education Ministry and the Histadrut (through its International Department and the Culture and Education Center) the UNESCO Council held an international seminar on workers' and adult education in Israel in 1958 and, following upon its success, a second seminar of the same kind, held in 1964, proved even more successful than the first one.

The International Federation of Workers' Education Associations

Through its Culture and Education Center, the Histadrut has been a member of this Federation since 1955 and participates in its conferences. It is also represented on the Executive of the Institute for Work Films affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.).

ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES PROMOTING CULTURAL COOPERATION

The Culture and Education Center, faced with the need for making cultural aid broadly available to the working population in Israel, decided that the establishment of certain commercial enterprises was the best way to cope with these needs. These are:

A. *The Cinema Department,* which works together with the rural community federations and supplies feature and educational films to most of the agricultural settlements in Israel, to clubs, army camps, etc.

B. *"Sifri"* — the quality bookshop company.

Then there is the Israel Institute for Correspondence Courses also run on a commercial basis, described elsewhere in this book; and the *"Tarbut ve-Hinukh"* (Culture and Education) publishing firm, which we have also mentioned earlier in these pages. All these enterprises are affiliated with a single company, *Mif'alei Tarbut ve-Hinukh* (Culture and Education Enterprises), a subsidiary of *Hevrat Ha-Ovdim* (Histadrut Labor Economy — the holding company for the Histadrut's independent economic enterprises).

RESEARCH AND STATISTICS

One of the weaknesses that have dogged the cultural activity of the Histadrut since its beginnings, is the lack of instruments for the accurate evaluation of these activities and the measure of their effectiveness. General agreement has not been reached concerning the criteria by which the guaging of this activity should be proceed. The Culture and Education Center has, on various occasions, cooperated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and with other institutions conducting research in this field, and recently it has established its own Department of Social Research and Statistics. This department's task is to launch systematic research and follow-up projects in various fields of cultural activity. Without disparaging the importance of these endeavors, we must nevertheless admit in all candor that the problem of research into the complexes of cultural activity at an appropriate level of scientific validity, has not yet found an adequate solution.

A CONCLUSION — BUT NO ENDING

We have come not a little way in our survey of the Histadrut's cultural and educational undertaking. We have certainly not probed in depth all the endeavors made, and much that deserves mention has had to be omitted. For example, we have not touched on the activities among youth — not because we consider them unimportant but, on the contrary, because the great importance we attach to this field of endeavor warrants more than casual reference. The Association of Learning and Working Youth functions as a separate federation, with its own complex of activities and concomittant problems. The same applies to the other youth movements whose educational trend is towards an attachment to the Histadrut. A study of their activities and problems would extend far beyond the dimensions of this book, and, indeed, is worthy of a separate essay. For the same reason, we have not discussed the *Hapoel Sports* Organization here at length, even though there is a close connection between its physical training and sports activities and matters of culture and education in general. It would also be relevant to measure the scale of these endeavors against the aims of the cultural and educational activity in the Histadrut, posing as a vital question to what extent they help bring the Histadrut closer to the realization of these aims?

In the first chapters of this book, we dwelt on some of the grave problems facing the Histadrut at the present time, and the considerable claims they make on the Histadrut's cultural and educational activity. An evaluation of these activities in terms of objectives and problems would certainly not engender a feeling of total satisfaction. However, to counter-balance this, we may well ask: what course of development would matters have taken in the absence of such activity?

Our evaluation should be swayed neither by undue optimism, nor by any pessimism that would paint an unduly depressing picture of reality. For in that case, the sociological concept of "a prophesy which tends to fulfil itself" might well be realized. Since this can be equally applicable to the positive side, it is preferable to favor the optimistic approach, provided it leads to commensurate action. Ultimately, this is the highest criterion for any policy; and it applies as well to culture and education. We must therefore closely reinforce our cultural and educational activity, confident in its value and outcome.

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